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VARĀHAMIHIRA and UTPALA: their works and predecessors.\*

P. V. KANE

A very extensive Sanskrit literature on Jyotiṣa appears to have existed several centuries before Varāhamihira who may be taken to have flourished in the first half of the 6th century A.D. as indicated by his reference to *śake* 427 (505 A.D.) for *ahargana*<sup>1</sup> in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā*. Both Varāhamihira and Utpala mention a host of predecessors and the latter quotes very extensively from numerous writers on Jyotiṣa. Both of them were men of encyclopaedic learning. Varāhamihira states (in Br. S. 1.9) that Jyotiṣa has three branches (*skandhas*), viz. *Gaṇita* or *Tantra* (which deals principally with the motion of planets), *Horā* or *Jātaka* (astrology) and *Samhitā* (which presents all topics of Jyotiṣa in their entirety). In the Br. J. (28.6) he informs us again that for the benefit of astrologers he collected together the topics of Jyotiṣa in its three branches by writing the works called *Vivāhapaṭala*, a *Karaṇa* (viz. *Pañcasiddhāntikā*) dealing with (the motions of) planets and also writing on *Śākhā* which is an extensive subject<sup>2</sup>. According to Garga quoted by Utpala on Br. S. I. 9

1. सप्तश्विदेदसंख्यं शककालमपास्य चैत्रशुक्लादौ । अर्धास्तमिते भानौ यवनपुरे सौम्यदिवसाद्ये ॥ पञ्च-  
I. 8. This is referred to by Alberuni (Sachau, Vol. II p. 51).
2. विवाहकालः करणं ग्रहाणां प्रोक्तं पृथक् तद्विपुला च शाखा । स्कन्धैस्त्रिभिर्ज्योतिषसंग्रहोऽयं मया कृतो देवविदां  
हिताय ॥ बृहज्जातक 28. 6.

\* In this paper Br. S. stands for *Brhat-Samhitā* (edited by M. M. Sudhakar Dvivedi in *samvat* 1954); Br. J. for *Brhaj-Jātaka* (ed. by Pandit Sitaram Jha at Benares in 1934 with the com. of Utpala); P. S. (*Pañcasiddhāntikā* edited by Thibaut and Dvivedi); L. J. for *Laghujātaka* (a Ms. in the Bhadkamkar collections of the Bombay University with the com. of Utpala); Br. Y. for *Brhadyogayātrā* (a Ms. in the Bhau Daji Collection of the Bombay Asiatic Society); Y. Y. for *Yogayātrā* (a Ms. in the Bhau Daji collection with the com. of Utpala). When the *Yogayātrā* published by Mr. Jagadishlal is relied upon, the words 'Lahore ed.' are added in brackets. M. or m. stands for 'mentioned.'



the three branches of Jyotiṣa are Gaṇita, Jātaka<sup>3</sup> and Śākhā and one who mastered these was called 'Samhitāpārāga'. He frequently refers to his Karaṇa (Pañcasiddhāntikā) in the Br. S. (e.g. in 5.18, 17.1, 24.5). Varāhamihira wrote a double set of works on these branches, viz ; Bṛhaj-jātaka and Laghujātaka, Yogayātrā and Bṛhadyogayātrā, Bṛhad-vivāhapaṭala and Vivāhapaṭala, Bṛhatsamhitā and Samāsa-samhitā. The Laghujātaka consists of 13 chapters and 155 Āryā verses. As stated in the work<sup>4</sup> itself it was composed after the Bṛhaj-jātaka, Uptala in his com. on the Br. J. frequently quotes verses from the Laghujātaka, sometimes calling it 'Sūkṣma-jātaka' (as on Br. J. II.12 and 21, IV. 16, IX.1) and generally 'Svalpajātaka' (e.g. on Br. J. II. 13, 18, 21 ; IV. 3, 11, 16 ; V. 2. 18 &c.). Alberuni (Sachau, Vol. I p. 158) states that he translated the Laghujātaka into Arabic. Two chapters of it were published with notes in Indische Studien, Vol. ii p. 277 ff. A portion of the Yogayātrā text with translation was published by Kern in the Indische Studien, Vol. X, XIV and XV. The text of the Yogayātrā was recently published by Mr. Jagadish Lal Shastri at Lahore in 1944. He had, it appears, a defective Ms. and there are many gaps in the text as printed. The Ms. in the Bhau Daji Collection is an excellent one and will be helpful in filling up the gaps in Mr. Jagadish Lal's text. There are in the Yogayātrā 17 chapters (in printed ed., but 16 in Ms) and about 467 verses. The subjects of Yātrā are summarised in Br. S. chap. II viz. the consequences of starting on an expedition on certain *tithis*, week-days, Karaṇas (like Bava), Nakṣatras, *Muhūrtas* ; indications from the rising sign, the throbbing of the various limbs of the body, dreams, ceremonial bath for victory, *graha-yajña*, *śakuna*, encamping an army, offering of *bali* with Vedic mantras (such as Apratiratha, Abhayagaṇa, Svastyayana, Āyuṣya &c. as stated in Yogayātrā VIII. 6-8). The Bṛhad-Yogayātrā is slightly larger than the Yogayātrā containing about 520 verses in 34 chapters. In the Br. J. (28. 1-5) there is a summary of the subjects of the Bṛhad-Yogayātrā. Utpala on Yogayātrā quotes the verses on the lords of the 15 muhūrtas by day and by night from Bṛhad Yogayātrā VI. 2-3 in Yogayātrā V, 10 (folio 43b) and remarks 'parāyām Yātrāyām-uktāḥ'. In Br. S. 42.31 Varāha<sup>5</sup> refers to his Yātrā as the work where he has dealt with the auspicious and inauspicious signs of the fire kindled on starting on an expedition and Utpala explains 'Yātrā' as 'Yogyātrā' here. This is probably a reference to Chap. XIX of the Bṛhad-Yogayātrā and Chap. VIII of the

3. गणितं जातकशाखां यो वेत्ति द्विजपुङ्गवः । त्रिस्कन्धज्ञो विनिर्दिष्टः संहितापारगश्च सः ॥ गर्ग q. by उत्पल on बृ. सं. I. 9. For the topics of संहिता, vide बृ. सं. chap. II where a long list is given.
4. होराशास्त्रं वृत्तैर्मया निबद्धं निरीक्ष्य शास्त्राणि । यत्तस्याप्यार्याभिः सारमहं संप्रवक्ष्यामि ॥ लघुजातक I. 2.
5. इष्टद्व्याकारः सुरभिः स्निग्धो घनोऽनलोर्विष्मान् । उत्पल quotes here 7 verses from योगयात्रा five of which are योगयात्रा 4. 9-12 and 14 (Lahore ed.) and last two out of the 7 are again quoted by उत्पल on बृहत्सं. 43. 14. शुभकृदतो न्योऽनिष्टो यात्रायाम् विस्तरोऽभिहितः ॥ बृ. सं. 42. 31.

Yogayātrā. Utpala on Br. S. I. 10. explains that Br. J., Brhad-Yātrā and Brhadvivāhapaṭala had already been composed and on Br. J. XX. 10 expressly mentions the Brhad-yātrā and Svalpayātrā (i. e. Yogayātrā) and Brhad-vivāhapaṭala and Alpa-vivāhapaṭala.<sup>6</sup> From Al-Beruni's 'India' (tr. by Sachau, Vol. I p. 158) it appears that in Alberuni's day it was thought that 'travelling is treated of (by Varāha) in the book Yogayātrā and the book Tīkani-yātrā.' About this latter something will be said later on. It is doubtful whether Alberuni had read those works in the original or whether he merely reports what he heard from others. In the Br. S. Varāha refers frequently to his work on Yātrā e.g. 43.14 and 18, 47.22. Utpala on Br. J. XII. 19 quotes half an Upajāti from the Vivāhapaṭala. On p. 71 of Br. S. (II) Utpala quotes from the Vivāhapaṭala the first word 'ajñāta' of one verse and a half Āryā of another. For this paper I could not make use of any of the two Vivāhapaṭalas. The Samāsa-samhitā, though intended to be a smaller work than the Brhatsamhitā, as its very name shows, seems to have been comparatively a large work, since Utpala quotes more than 110 verses from it in his com. on the Br. S. Most of the verses are in the Āryā metre but here and there occur verses in Upajāti (e.g. on Br. S. 32. 23, 16. 38), Anuṣṭubh (e.g. on Br. S. 103. 61, 19. 1.4, 19. 19-21, 20. 9), Śārdūla-vikrīḍita (e.g. on Br. S. 12.13, 16.38) &c. The Samāsasamhitā<sup>7</sup> is sometimes referred to as 'Svalpasamhitā' by Utpala (on Br. S. 33.1). Some verses quoted by Utpala from the Samāsasamhitā are almost the same as the verses of the Br. S. Vide note below<sup>8</sup>. The Brhatsamhitā is Varāhamihira's major work and a product of mature age and experience and probably his last work. The text of the Br. S. was edited by Kern with a valuable Introduction and the translation of 85 chapters of it by him appeared in J. R. A. S. vol. IV, V, VI, VII. In I. 10 of the Br. S. Varāhamihira states that he had already composed his Karaṇa (Pañcasiddhāntikā) dealing with the rising, setting and retrograde motion of planets and stars, that he had dealt exhaustively with Jātaka in his Horāśāstra (Brhaj-jātaka) together with the (works on) Yātrā and Vivāha. In Br. S. 106.13 Varāha states that the subjects of the one hundred chapters of the work have been described in order (in that chapter) and that the work contains less than 4000 ślokaś (of 32 syllables each). Utpala states (on Br. S. 106. 13) that the number is arrived at by excluding the chapters on 'vātacakra, āṅgavidyā, pīṭaka, āśvalakṣaṇa, gajalakṣaṇa.' On Yogayātrā 1. 2

6. यत्राचार्याणां समसंख्यानां मतभेदसमत्वं भवति तत्र वराहमिहिरो मतद्वयमपि दर्शयति । तथा च बृहयात्रा-यामन्यरूपां ग्रहकुण्डलिकां स्वल्पयात्रायां सामान्यरूपां पठति । एवं बृहदल्पयोर्विवाहपटल्योरपि । उत्पल on बृहज्जातक XX. 10.
7. दिविशुक्लशुभफलानां पततां रूपाणि यानि तान्युल्काः । बृ. सं. 33. 1 on which उत्पल says 'आचार्येण स्वल्पसंहितायामेवोक्तम् 'अन्त्राणि लोकपाला लोकाभावाय सन्त्यजन्युल्काः । केषांचित्सुप्यकृता तत्रोल्काविच्युतिः स्वर्गात्' ॥
8. नोत्पातपरित्यक्तः कदाचिदपि चन्द्रो ब्रज्युदयम् । जलदहनपवनभयकृद्धान्यार्धक्षयविवृद्ध्यै वा ॥ बृ. सं. 7. 1. उत्पल quotes the समाससंहिता verse : उदयं याति शशिसुतो नोत्पातविवर्जितः कदाचिदपि । पवनान्निसलिलभयदो धान्यार्धवृद्धिक्षयकृद्वा ॥

(folio 2 a.) and Br. J. I. 1 Utpala states that Varāha wrote on *ganita* first, then on *Jātaka* and then he wrote *Yogayātrā* and that Varāha thought that his Br. Y. was not quite complete (*apari-pūrṇa*) and so wrote another *Yogayātrā*. The *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (1.22)<sup>9</sup> expressly states that the author will deal with certain astrological matters in his *Horāśāstra*. From Y. Y. IV. 52 '*Jātakoktanṛpa-yogagatānām*' (Lahore ed.) it follows that the Br. J. was composed before the Y. Y. Therefore the chronological order of Varāha's works was probably as follows: first the *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, then *Brhaj-jātaka*, then *Laghujātaka*, *Brhad-yogayātrā*, *Yogayātrā*, *Brhadvivāhapaṭala* and *Vivāhapaṭala*, *Brhat-samhitā* and *Samāsasamhitā*. Other works such as the *Mayūracitraka* are attributed to Varāhamihira (and the D. C. Collection contains two mss., viz No. 838 of 1884-87 and No. 961 of 1886-1892 of *Mayūracitraka* in the colophons of which the work is attributed to Varāhamihira) but for the purpose of this paper I have not examined them.

In his P. S. I. 3 Varāha states that there were five *Siddhāntas*, viz. *Paulīśa*, *Romaka*, *Vāsiṣṭha*, *Saura* and *Paitāmaha* and that the first two (*Paulīśa* and *Romaka*) were expounded by *Lāṭadeva*. The next verse makes the important statement that the *Paulīśasiddhānta* is accurate, the *Romaka* approaches it (in accuracy), that more accurate is the *Sūryasiddhānta*, while the other two (*Vāsiṣṭha* and *Paitāmaha*) are far from the truth. Those five *siddhāntas* are also named in the Br. S. II. Varāhamihira's position in dealing with the conflicting views of his predecessors is stated in a characteristic verse (Br. S. 9.7)<sup>10</sup> '*Jyotiṣa* is a *śāstra* based on the *Veda*; in the case of a conflict (among ancient writers on it) it is not proper for us to put forth our own fancies; I shall, however, propound the view held by the majority (of writers)'. His position about *Horāśāstra* is also worth noting. He states<sup>11</sup> (Br. J. I. 3) that according to some the word '*horā*' is derived from '*ahorātra*' by dropping the first and last syllables, and that *horā* merely indicates the fruition of whatever one's acts, good, bad or mixed, laid in store in former births. He therefore appears to hold that the planets do not bring about good or evil effects, but that the horoscope is like a map or simply indicates what is likely to happen i. e. astrology is concerned only with tendencies.\* Astrology was cultivated also in Europe by the side of and in connection with astronomy till the advent of modern science and even now

9. वर्षे यद्यस्य फलं मासे च मुनिप्रणीतमालोक्य । तत्तद्वृत्तैर्वक्ष्ये होरातन्त्रोत्तरविधाने ॥ पञ्च. I. 22. (it is mutilated), but correctly quoted by उत्पल on बृ. सं. 19. 1.
10. ज्यौतिषमागमशास्त्रं विप्रतिपत्तौ न योग्यमस्माकम् । स्वयमेव विकल्पयितुं किं तु बहूनां मतं वक्ष्ये ॥ बृ. सं. 9. 7. This is often stated to be the प्रतिज्ञा of वराह by उत्पल as e.g. on Br. J. 7. 7, 20. 10.
11. होरेत्यहोरात्रविकल्पमेकं वाञ्छन्ति पूर्वापरवर्णलोपात् । कर्माजितं पूर्वभवे सदादि यत्तस्य पक्तिं समभिव्यनक्ति ॥ बृहज्जा. I. 3 ; यदुपचितमन्यजन्मनि शुभाशुभं तस्य कर्मणः पक्तिम् । व्यञ्जयति शास्त्रमेतत्तमसि द्रव्याणि दीप इव ॥ लघुजातक I. 3 q. by उत्पल on बृहज्जा I. 3.

\* Vide Louis de Wohl's 'Secret service of the sky' p. 31 for the province of astrology being confined to tendencies.



it is not entirely given up in Europe, particularly during and after world war No. II. \*

I shall now set out alphabetically the human authors and works mentioned by Varāhamihira in his works connected with the subjects of his works and add brief notes about them gathered from Varāhamihira and Utpala. Such authors as Kapila and Kaṇāda who are connected with entirely different studies named by him (Br. S. I.7) are omitted.

**Āryabhaṭa:** In the P. S. 15.20 Varāha charges him with making contradictory statements about the beginning of the day being reckoned from midnight in Lankā and also at sunrise.<sup>12</sup> Utpala on Br. S., pp.24, 44, 45, 58, 59, 100, 182, 324, quotes 14 Āryās from Āryabhaṭa.

**Atri:** mentioned by Brhadyogayātrā 29.3. From Br. S. 45.1 it appears either that Atri wrote a work on *utpātas* from which Garga drew his inspiration or that Atri was the teacher of Garga.

**Asita** Br. S. 11.1 mentions Asita in connection with Ketucāra. Br. Y. XIX. 1 also mentions him along with Devala and Kaśyapa on the Mantras with which oblations were to be offered into fire.

**Bādarāyaṇa**—Br. S. 39.1 states that it will enumerate the good and bad *yogas* for corn ripening in summer or autumn while the sun enters the sign Scorpion or Taurus, as declared by Bādarāyaṇa and Utpala on Br. S. 39 quotes in all five verses from Bādarāyaṇa on that topic, four of which are in the Āryā metre and one is an Anuṣṭubh. Utpala in his com. on the Yogayātrā quotes about 50 verses from Bādarāyaṇa most of which are in the Upajāti metre and the ideas, words and even illustrations of which are closely followed by Varāha e.g. IV. 17 (Dharmo yathā hetuśatair yugānte; 'dharmo yathā prāpya yugam caturtham' on folio 30b of the Yogayātrā). Bādarāyaṇa is quoted by Utpala almost on every verse of Yogayātrā chap. IV. It is most remarkable that the latter half of Yogayātrā IV. 32 (IV. 33 Lahore ed.) is the same as the latter half of a verse of Bādarāyaṇa quoted by Utpala on the same viz. 'tadā hyavaskandagato narendro bhunkte ripūnśtārksya iva dvijihvān'. Utpala on Br. J. quotes about twenty-five verses from Bādarāyaṇa many of which are in the Āryā metre, some in Upajāti, and one in Vidyunmālā (on Br. J. 11.5). It may be noted that Utpala on Br. J. 6. 2 quotes an *āryā* from Bādarāyaṇa in which the view of Yavanendra on the premature death of a child is cited. The foregoing shows that Bādarāyaṇa must have preceded Varāha by considerable time.

**Bhāguri**—m. by Br. S. 85. 1 as an ancient author on *Śakuna* from whom along with others Ṛṣabha borrowed for writing his own treatise on *Śakunas*.

12. लङ्कारात्रयसमये दिनप्रवृत्तिं जगद् चार्यमतः । भूयः स एव चाकौद्यात्प्रभृत्याह लङ्कायाम् ॥ पञ्च. 15. 20,  
q. by उत्पल on बृ. सं. chap. II p. 32.

\* Vide Jastrow's 'Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria' (1915) p. 25 for cultivation of Astrology in Europe in medieval ages.



*Bhāradvāja*—m. by Br. S. 85.2 as an author on whose views Mahārājādhirāja Dravyavardhana, king of Ujjayinī, based his own work on Śakuna. On Br. S. 52.76 Utpala quotes a śloka of Bhāradvāja.

*Bhṛgu*—m. in Br. Y. 4.30. Br. S. 85.43 names Bhṛgu for the proposition that the flying and running of *cāṣa* and *nakula* to the left is auspicious in the afternoon and Utpala quotes half an Anuṣṭubh from Bhṛgu on this.

*Cyavana*—M. in Br. Y. 29.3.

*Devala*—M. in Br. S. 7.15 for the four *gatis* (motions) of Mercury. Utpala quotes about 12 Anuṣṭubh verses from Devala on Br. S. 5.3, 7.16, 9.1, 10.19, 19.22, 23.4, 30.32. Utpala quotes Devala on Br. Y. 12.15 and 19.1. On Yogayātrā Utpala quotes a verse of Ṛṣiputra in which Devala is mentioned (1.15-16, folio 8b). Yogayātrā IX. 12 (Lahore ed.) mentions Devala.

*Devasvāmin*—M. by Varāha in Br. J. VII. 7 along with Viṣṇugupta and Siddhasena. Utpala (*loc. cit.*) quotes an Ārya of Devasvāmin which speaks of the planetary aspects indicating very long life.

*Dravyavardhana*—M. in Br. S. 86.2. (chap. 86.2 in Kern) Varāha states that he looked into the work of Mahārājādhirāja Dravyavardhana of Avanti on Śakuna who himself composed it after reading the work of Bhāradvāja on the same subject<sup>13</sup>. It would be very useful if antiquarians can find out this king Dravyavardhana of Ujjayinī. To me it is a new kingly name. Whether there is any connection of this king with the family to which Emperor Harṣavardhana belonged is more than I can say.

*Dvaipāyana*—Varāha refers in Yogayātrā 16.4 (Lahore ed.) to the rules laid down by the sage (*muni*) Dvaipāyana and by Manu as regards fighting. This is most probably a reference to Vyāsa the reputed author of the Mahābhārata. In the Brhad-yogayātrā 1.15 Varāha refers to certain ślokas uttered by Dvaipāyana and then quotes them.<sup>14</sup> There are numerous places in the Mahābhārata where the relative influence of *daiva* and *puruṣakāra* is dwelt upon (vide H. of Dh. vol. II pp. 168-169), but I have not been able to locate the verses quoted below from the Brhad-Yogayātrā. Br. Y. I.13 is a verse<sup>15</sup> which is the same as the Śāntiparva 58.15.

*Garga*—Of all writers Garga is the one most frequently mentioned by Varāhamihira. Garga is named very often in the Br. S. For example, in Br. S. 45.1 Varāha avers that he will describe the *utpātas* that Garga learning from Atri propounded. Br. S. 45.52 states that the following two ślokas (Br. S. 45. 53-54) are

13. भारद्वाजमतं दृष्ट्वा यच्च श्रीद्रव्यवर्धनः । आवान्तिकः प्राह नृपो महाराजाधिराजकः ॥
14. अस्मिन्नर्थे शृणु श्लोकान् द्वैपायनमुखोद्गतान् । न विना मानुषं दैवं दैवं वा मानुषं विना । नैकं निर्वर्तयत्यर्थ-  
मेकारणिरिवानलम् ॥ सिध्यन्ति सर्वे आरम्भाः संयोगात्कर्मणोर्द्वयोः । दैवायुष्षकाराच्च न त्वेकस्मात्कथंचन ॥  
अनुज्ञास्ति नरं दैवं &c. ॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा I. 15 ff.
15. उत्थानवीरः पुरुषो वाग्वीरानधितिष्ठति । उत्थानवीरं वाग्वीरं रमयन्त उपासते ॥ बृहद्योगयात्रा I. 13 ;  
शान्तिपर्व 58. 15.

repeated as *Śānti* according to Garga's dictum when twins are born to a mare (or she mule), she-camel, she-buffalo, cow and she-elephant (owned by a person). Similarly Br. S. 45.56 speaks of two other ślokas of Garga as containing the procedure of *śānti* (Br. S. 45. 57-58). Br. S. 45.79 refers to *śānti* performed by Garga. Br. S. 47.38 refers to the materials for *Puṣyasnāna* described by Garga. Br. S. 49.15 refers to the view of Garga (matena Gargasya). Br. S. 55.31 refers to the work on *prāsādas* (temples) composed by Garga. Br. S. 64.8 names Garga and 64.9 appears to be a verse of Garga. Br. S. 85.3 speaks of Garga as one of the Yātrākāras and as having written on *śakunas*. The Yogayātrā (12.15) quotes the view of Garga about the length of a sword. Br. Y. IV. 6 mentions Garga's view and VI.5 also speaks of Garga and others, while VI.6 appears to be a śloka quoted from Garga. Over three hundred verses are quoted from Garga by Utpala in his commentary on the Bṛhatsamhitā alone. Most of those verses are in the Anuṣṭubh metre, though a few verses in other metres also occur e.g. Upajāti on Br. S. 69.7, Indravajrā on Br. S. 69.10. On Br. S. 35.3 Utpala quotes six Anuṣṭubh verses from the Mayūracitraka of Garga, while one ms. ascribes these verses to Vṛddhagarga. Garga is a somewhat mythical or shadowy figure. Utpala on Br. S. I.5 quotes three verses of Garga in which the latter asserts that the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa was promulgated by Brahmā himself, that he derived it from Brahmā and other sages obtained it from him and wrote many works thereon.

*Vṛddha-Garga*—is expressly named by Varāha in Br. S. 13.2 in connection with the motion of the constellation of the seven sages (the Great Bear). He avers that he will rely on the views of Vṛddha-Garga on this point; then follows the much discussed verse that the constellation of the seven sages was in the *Maghās* when Yudhiṣṭhira ruled the earth and that 2526 years added to the Śakakāla yield the number of years from Yuddhiṣṭhira to the time when a person wants to know how many years ago Yudhiṣṭhira flourished.<sup>16</sup> Alberuni (tr. by Sachau, vol. I. p. 390) refers to this verse of Varāha and understands 'saḍ-dvika-paṅca-dviyuṭaḥ' as equal to 2526. A passage of 25 verses is quoted from Garga by Utpala on Br. 1.11, in which it is stated that the sage Krauṣṭuki asked Vṛddha-Garga a question how Jyotiṣa started, who, whether a deity or a sage, promulgated it in former times, what benefit is derived from the knowledge of Jyotiṣa and that Vṛddha-Garga replied to these questions (in 16 verses). It may be noted that the verses are cited by Utpala as Garga's but in the verses themselves the propounder is Vṛddha Garga. Further it is important that the verses refer to the *Rāsis* (tataḥ kālāprasiddhyartham rāsayāḥ pūrvamīritāḥ). In Br. S. 47.2 Varāha states that the *Śānti* which Bṛhaspati declared for Indra reached Vṛddha-Garga who declared it to Bhāguri. Br. S. 47.24-28 are ślokas (Anuṣṭubh) sung by a sage acc. to it, about which Utpala says they are Vṛddha-Garga's. It is therefore desirable to advert to the question whether Vṛddha-Garga

16. ध्रुवनायकोपदेशा नरिनर्तावोत्तरा भ्रमाङ्गिश्च । यैश्चारमहं तेषां कथयिष्ये वृद्धगर्गमताव ॥ आसन् मघासु मुनयः शासन्ति पृथ्वीं युधिष्ठिरे नृपतौ । षड्विक्रपचद्वियुतः शककालस्तस्य राजश्च ॥ बृह. सं. 13. 2-3. आसन् मघासु is not a verse of वृद्धगर्ग but of बराह. उत्पल quotes the verse of वृद्धगर्ग in the Anuṣṭubh metre 'कलिद्रापरसन्धौ तु स्थितास्ते पितृदेवतम् ॥

and Garga are identical or distinct authors. At least sixty verses are quoted as Vṛddha-Garga's by Utpala on the Br. S. alone and almost all of them are in the Anuṣṭubh metre. It is most remarkable that in some places Utpala quotes the verses of both Vṛddha-Garga and Garga on the same verse of the Br. S. For example, on Br. S. 5.17 Vṛddha-Garga is quoted as saying that when there is a conjunction of five planets on a purnimā or amāvāsyā and Mercury is not one of them then the astronomer should not make a prophecy that there will be an eclipse.<sup>17</sup> Garga is quoted to the same effect. Varāha in Br. S. 5.17 says that this is all wrong. Similarly, on Br. S. 11.7 Utpala quotes on *Ketucāra* two verses each of Garga and Vṛddha-Garga immediately after one another, which are almost identical.<sup>18</sup> The Br. S. 32 deals with the causes of earth-quakes. According to some *ācāryas* (32.1 latter half) earthquakes arise from the sighs heaved up by the *diggajas* when tired of carrying the burden of the earth on their heads. Utpala notes that this is the view of Garga and quotes 3½ verses from his work to support this statement. Br. S. 32.2 (latter half) states that according to other *ācāryas* earthquakes are due to *adrṣṭa* (dharma and adharma). According to Utpala this was the opinion of Vṛddha-Garga and Utpala quotes two verses of Vṛddha-Garga which support the latter view. This shows that Garga and Vṛddha-Garga held different views on the causes of earthquakes. The conclusions that may reasonably be drawn from all the above data are that Varāha and Utpala had before them works attributed to both Vṛddha-Garga and Garga, that those works were regarded by Varāha as very ancient in his day and therefore that both of them must be regarded as having flourished some centuries before Varāha. Garga is mentioned also in the Brhadyogayātrā IV. 6, VI. 5 and in the Yogayātrā XII. 15 (Lahore ed). On Yogayātrā I. 16 Utpala quotes Vṛddha-Garga. The Sārāvalī which is earlier than Utpala mentions in XXI.17 the views of Vṛddha-Garga on *yogas*.

This problem about Garga and Vṛddha-Garga is further complicated by the fact that Utpala quotes about 60 verses in his commentary on the Brhaj-jātaka from 'Gārgi' to whom he almost always prefixes the honorific epithet 'Bhagavān' (except on Br. J. VII.8 and VIII.10). Once Utpala mentions 'bhagavatā' Gārgyeṇā' on Br. J. VI.2. If we look to grammar alone Gārgi and Gārgya would be identical and mean a descendant of Garga from the grandson downwards or an 'apatya' of Garga (vide Pāṇ. IV. 1.162, IV. 1.95, IV. 1.105 'Gargādibhyo yañ').

17. तथा च वृद्धगर्गः । ग्रहपञ्चकसंयोगं दृष्ट्वा न ग्रहणं वदेत् । यदि न स्याद् बुधस्तत्र तद्दृष्ट्वा ग्रहणं वदेत् ॥ ...  
तथा च गर्गः । ... पञ्चग्रहसमायोगं दृष्ट्वा सौम्याविवर्जितम् । ग्रहणं (नु?) वदेत्तत्र सवुधं न (नु?) ग्रहं  
वदेत् ॥ q. by उत्पल on बृह. सं. 5. 17.
18. तथा च गर्गः । यावन्त्यहानि दुःख्यः स्यात्तावन्मासान् फलं भवेत् । मासांस्तु यावद् दुःख्येत तावतोऽब्दाश्च  
वैकृतम् । त्रिपक्षात्परतः कर्म पच्यतेऽस्य शुभाशुभम् । सद्यस्कमुदिते केतौ फलं नेहादिशेद्बुधः ॥ तथा च  
वृद्धगर्गः । यावतो दिवसांस्तिष्ठेतावन्मासान् विनिर्दिशेत् । त्रिपक्षात्परतश्चापि कर्म केतोः प्रपच्यते ॥ तस्मात्का-  
लात्परं ब्रूयात्फलमस्य शुभाशुभम् । सद्यस्कमुदिते केतौ फलं नेहादिशेद्बुधः ॥ उत्पल on बृह. सं. 11.7.



Here again we have to contend against further difficulties. On Br. J. VIII.10 Utpala<sup>19</sup> quotes a verse from the Mayūracitraka of Gārgi and on Br. S. 35.3 he quotes six verses from the Mayūracitraka of Garga (of Vṛddhagarga acc. to one Ms.). Mayūracitraka is the name of works on astrology ascribed to several authors such as Garga, Varāha and Nārada. No. 838 of 1884-1887 and 55 of 1919-24 of the Deccan College Collection now lodged in the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute (Poona) are two MSS. of Mayūracitraka ascribed in the colophons to Varāhamihira (the latter contains 322 verses in all in two adhyāyas), while No. 961 of 1886-1892 and 547 of 1895-1902 of the same collection are MSS. of Mayūracitraka attributed to Nārada. It is somewhat difficult to suppose that there existed three works on Jyotiṣa by Vṛddha Garga, Garga and Gārgi. It appears rather more likely that Garga also wrote on Horāśāstra and that the quotations from Gārgi in Utpala's comment on the Br. J. are from a work of Garga wherein probably the interlocutors were Garga and his descendant Gārgi. On Yogayātrā I.15 (folio 8b) Utpala quotes a long passage from Ṛṣiputra wherein the opinions of the pupils of Garga and also of Gārgi are referred to.

*Gautama*:—M. in the Bṛhad-yogayātrā 29.3 and by Utpala in a quotation from Ṛṣiputra on folio 9 b of the Yogayātrā.

*Jīvaśarman*:—It appears that he composed a work on Horā or Jātaka which contained Āryā and Anuṣṭubh verses. On Br. J. VII. 9 Varāha tells us that the longest life of a person acc. to Jīvaśarman was 120 years and that each planet contributes  $\frac{1}{7}$ th part of it, if the planet is in its ascendant (*ucca*) and only half of this if it was *nīca*. On Br. J. XI. 1 Varāha states the two opposing views of Yavanas and of Jīvaśarman, the former holding that if in a horoscope three or more evil planets are in their ascendant, the man becomes a king but he is evil-minded, the latter holding that a man does not become a king at all with evil planets in the ascendant in his horoscope. Utpala quotes two Āryās of Jīvaśarman on Br. J. VII. 9 and one Anuṣṭubh on Br. J. XI. 1. Utpala further quotes two Anuṣṭubh verses of Jīvaśarman on Br. J. XIII. 3 defining 'Sunaphā', 'Anaphā' 'Durudharā' and 'Kemadruma'. Jīvaśarman is also mentioned in Br. Y. IX. 1.

*Kāśyapa*:—M. in Br. Y. XIX. 1 along with Asita and Devala.

*Kāśyapa*:—He is mentioned by Varāha on Br. S. XXI. 2 along with Garga, Parāśara and Vajra as having written on prophecies about the rainy season. On Br. S. 24.2 Varāha states that he looked into the works of Garga, Parāśara, Kāśyapa and Maya on the consequences of the conjunction of the moon with Rohiṇī. Utpala in his commentary on the Br. S. quotes about 260 verses in the Anuṣṭubh metre (the printed edition sometimes reading Kāśyapa and very often Kāśyapa). It is remarkable that in his comment on the 16th chap. of the Br. S. dealing

19. तथा च मयूरचित्रके भगवान्गार्गिः । आयुर्दायविभागश्च प्रायश्चित्तक्रियाम् (?) तथा । सावनेनैव कर्तव्याः सत्राणामप्युपासनम् ॥ उत्पल on बृहज्जा. VIII. 10.

with *graha-bhakti* (what rivers, what countries and what people are under the special influence of the several *grahas*) Utpala quotes 40 verses of Kāśyapa and only three of Garga and none from any other writer or work except the *Samāsasamhitā* of Varāha himself. Similarly, on 57.29 of the Br. S. (dealing with the forms, ornaments and dress of the images of various deities) Utpala quotes 19 verses from Kāśyapa. It is clear therefore that Kāśyapa's work traversed the same ground as the Br. S. and was an extensive work in the Anuṣṭubh metre. The verses quoted on chap. 40 dealing with the materials or things that are under the influence of the several signs of the Zodiac (*rāsis*) show that he was quite cognisant of the *rāśi* system, though on Br. S. 9.35 Kāśyapa is quoted as beginning nakṣatras with Kṛittikā and ending with Bharanī.

*Lāṭadeva*—It has already been stated above that Lāṭadeva expounded Pauliśa and Romaka *siddhāntas* out of the five (P. S. 1.3 'pancabhyo dvāvādyau vyākhyātau Lāṭadevena'). In the Pañchasiddhāntikā (15.18) Varāha states that the day of the week is to be determined from the *ahargana* which itself depends upon time and place. Lāṭācārya declares that *ahargana* is to be calculated in Yavanpura when half of the sun's orb has set. Lāṭadeva and Lāṭācārya are most probably the same person. Has this name anything to do with the country of Lāṭa, southern Gujarat of modern times?

*Māṇḍavya*—In Br. S. 103.3 Varāha puns upon the word 'jaghanacapalā' (the name of a metre, also a 'veśyā'), refers to the composition of Māṇḍavya and remarks that after hearing Māṇḍavya's work (which was probably written in various metres) the reader may not like his composition. Utpala quotes two Sragdharā verses of Māṇḍavya on this and on 103.61 mentions Māṇḍavya as having written on metres. Māṇḍavya is quoted by Utpala several times in his commentary on the Br. J. On Br. J. VI.6 Utpala quotes an Upajāti of Māṇḍavya which states how the moon saves the life of an infant if placed in certain aspects. On Br. J. XI. 3, 5, 6 all dealing with *rājayogas* (conjunctions and positions of planets indicating that a person will rise to the position of a king) Utpala quotes three verses of Māṇḍavya respectively in the Pṛthvī, Śārdūlavikrīḍita and Śikhariṇī metres. On Br. J. XIII.2 and XV. 4 Utpala quotes one Śikhariṇī each of Māṇḍavya.

*Maṇittha*—In Br. J. VII. 1. Varāha states that Maya, Yavana, Maṇittha and Parāśara (lit. one whose ancestor was Śakti) have declared the maximum number of years which the sun, moon and other planets indicate as the length of the life of a person. Maṇittha is also named in the Br. Y. XI. 9. Utpala in his commentary on the Br. J. alone quotes about fifteen verses from Maṇittha, all of which (except those on Br. J. VII. 2 and XII. 2, which are Anuṣṭubhs) are in the Āryā metre. From the comment of Utpala on Br. J. VII. 9 it appears that Maṇittha knew the Horāśāstra of Parāśara<sup>20</sup>. The name Maṇittha has a non-Indian ring. It is, however, difficult

20. श्रूयते स्कन्धत्रयमिति पाराशरस्येति । तदर्थं वराहमिहिरः शक्तिपूर्वैरित्याह । चित्रं प्रोज्झ्य पराशरः कथयते दौर्भाग्यदं योषिताम् । इत्येवमादि मयमणित्थयोर्होराशास्त्रे विद्येते ( विद्यते ? ) । उत्पल on बृहज्जा. 7.9.

to hold that a non-Indian attained so much proficiency in classical Sanskrit as to be able to compose in various Sanskrit metres a work on astrology. It is possible that an Indian scholar became familiar with the astrological work of a foreigner and reproduced it in Sanskrit after adopting for himself the foreigner's name. It is said that Manetho was an Egyptian priest who lived in the 3rd century B. C. and was the keeper of the sacred archives of the temple of Heliopolis. \*

*Maya*—He is mentioned several times by Varāhamihira. The Br. S. 24. 2 states that Maya, Garga, Parāśara and Kāśyapa declared to multitudes of their pupils the good and evil consequences of the conjunction of the moon with Rohinī. In Br. S. 55. 29 Varāha states that according to Maya the *bhūmikā* of a *prāsāda* should be of 103 fingerbreadths, while Viśvakarmā said it should be 84 *āṅgulas* (three and half cubits). In Br. S. 56.8 it is said that Maya prescribed a plaster called *vajrasaṅghāta* made of eight parts of lead, two of *kāśya* (bell-metal) and one of *ritikā* (brass). Maya is named in Br. J. VII.1 along with Yavana, Maṇittha and Parāśara<sup>21</sup> as having dealt with the topic of *āyurdāya* (length of life). Br. S. II. 14 is a famous verse: 'the Yavanas are Mlecchas, among whom this *śāstra* (Jyotiṣa) has attained a position of eminence; even they are honoured like sages; what need is there to say about a brāhmaṇa who knows predictions (that he will be honoured)'. On this verse Utpala quotes two Upajāti verses (without name) in which it is said that the Sun imparted to Maya, the king of Dānavas, the science of Jyotiṣa, that Viṣṇu imparted it to Vasiṣṭha and Parāśara derived it from Soma and that these three (Maya, Vasiṣṭha and Parāśara) spread it among the Yavanas. In the last chapter of the current *Sūryasiddhānta* it is stated that Maya learnt from the Sun the knowledge of astronomy (verse 25) and that he transmitted it to the sages that flocked round him (verse 27). On Br. S. 52. 39-41 Utpala states that Viśvakarmā and Maya dilated at great length on each kind of *vāstu*, while Varāha compressed such extensive descriptions into a small compass. Utpala quotes an *anuṣṭubh* verse of Maya (on Br. S. 52. 39-41) on five kinds of houses, which names are somewhat strange<sup>22</sup>. Vide above on Maṇittha for Maya's reference to Parāśara. On Br. J. VII. 13 Utpala quotes an *Āryā* of Maya. Utpala on *Yogayātrā* IV. 13 (folio 30 a) quotes Maya.

*Manu*:—In Br. S. 55.31 Varāha tells us that he wrote his chapter on the construction of temples after consulting the extensive works of Garga and Manu on the same subject. Utpala adds that not only Manu, but Maya, Vasiṣṭha and Nagnajit also composed works on the topic of the construction of temples. The *Yogayātrā* 16.4 (Lahore ed.) refers to the rules laid down by the sage Dvaipāyana and

21. म्लेच्छा हि यवनास्तेषु सम्यक् शास्त्रमिदं स्थितम् । ऋषिवत्तेऽपि पूज्यन्ते किं पुनर्देवविद् द्विजः ॥ बृहत्सं.
2. 14. Alberuni (Sachau, Vol. 1. p. 23) refers to this verse.
22. पक्षेष्टकगृहाणां सुवर्णतृणवस्त्रादिकृतानां हिरण्यगर्भोक्तानां निषेधार्थं मयेन पञ्चप्रकारा उक्ताः । कटिमं ग्रन्थिमं चैव दायिमं दीपिमं तथा । खातिमं च पुरं ह्यातं क्रियाः पञ्चविधा गृहे ॥

\* Vide Davidson's 'The Stars and the mind' p. 26.



by Manu on the subject of war. This is probably a reference to the 7th chapter of the Manusmṛiti. Br. S. 42.39 states that Manu prescribed the making of *Śakra-kumārīs* (dolls of wood as decorations of the banner of Indra) and 42.51 provides that *mantras* laid down by Manu and derived from ancient lore should be recited on the fourth day after the festival of Indra's banner begins and Br. S. 42.52-55 are the four *mantras* of Manu. On Br. S. 53.99 Varāha says that he gave a summary in *Āryā* verses from the work of Sārasvata <sup>23</sup> on 'dakārgala' (indications about where water may be found in the earth) and that he will proceed to dilate upon the same subject in *vṛttas* (metres following the *gaṇa* scheme and differing from *Āryās* which follow the *mātrā* scheme) based upon Manu's treatment of the same. On Br. S. 53.102 Utpala quotes five verses of Manu on the question where water may be found underground. Br. S. 53.111 (which is in the Upajāti metre) appears to be a quotation from Manu if we rely on the words of Br. S. 53.110 (tāh śobhanā munivacoStra ca vṛttam-etat). Utpala on Br. S. 85.18 quotes a verse in the Anuṣṭubh metre from 'Manudharmāḥ' on *Śakunas*. These references show that in Varāha's day there existed a work of Manu which dealt with topics similar to those of the Br. S. It may be noted that Utpala does not quote verses from Manu on such topics as the construction of temples or on the banner of Indra. It may hence be inferred that Utpala had not before him the work of Manu on these topics, though Varāhamihira had it before him. On 57.2 of the Br. S. Utpala quotes without name Manusmṛiti 8.132 about *trasaravenu* (or paramāṇu acc. to Vāyupurāṇa 101.118). On Br. S. I. 1 Utpala quotes Manu II.76 (but reads 'hutāhutiḥ') and on I.6 quotes Manu I.5-13.

In chapter 73 of the Br. S. Varāhamihira enters upon a very spirited defence of women against the charges levelled against them by men. In that connection he refers to what Manu has said on the point (73.6 'Manunātra cōktam'). Verses 7 to 11 of chap. 73 (if not two or three more) appear to be meant as quotations <sup>24</sup> from Manu and are held to be so by Utpala. None of these except the verse 'jāmayo yāni' (73.10) occurs in the same form in the extant Manusmṛiti. The verse 'jāmayo yāni' is Manu 3.58. Verse 7 (somastāsām) is almost the same as Baud. Dh. S. II. 2.64 and Vasiṣṭha 28.6 and resembles Yāj. I. 71. The latter half of verse 8 (brāhmaṇāḥ pādato medhyāḥ) is very close to Vasiṣṭha 28.9. Verse 9 (striyaḥ pavitram) is the same as Baud. Dh. S. II. 2.63 and Vasiṣṭha 28.4. From this it follows either that Varāha had a text of Manu different from the extant one or that he simply gives in his

23. सारस्वतेन मुनिना दकार्गलं यत् कृतं तदवलोक्य । आर्याभिः कृतमेतद् वृत्तरपि मानवं वक्ष्ये ॥ बृहत्सं. 53.99.

24. सोमस्तासामदाच्छौचं गन्धर्वैः शिक्षितां गिरम् । अग्निश्च सर्वभक्षित्वं तस्मान्निष्कसमाः स्त्रियः ॥  
ब्राह्मणाः पादतो मेघ्या गावो मेघ्याश्च पृष्ठतः । अजाश्च मुखतो मेघ्याः स्त्रियो मेघ्यास्तु सर्वतः ॥  
स्त्रियः पवित्रमतुलं नैता दुष्यन्ति कर्हिचित् । मासि मासि रजो ह्यासां दुष्कृतान्यपकर्षति ॥  
जामयो यानि गेहानि शपन्त्यप्रतिपूजिताः । तानि कृत्याहतानीव विनश्यन्ति समन्ततः ॥  
जाया वा स्याज्जनित्री वा सम्भवः स्त्रीकृतो नृणाम् । हे कृतघ्नास्तयोर्निन्दां कुर्वतां वः कुतः शुभम् ॥  
बृहत्सं. 73. 7-11. (chap. 74 in Kern).

own words a summary of Manu's teaching or that, as he quotes from memory, confusion results. This last does not appear to me to be likely and I am inclined to believe that he had a different text of Manu.

*Nagnajit*—Br. S. 57.4 states that, according to Nagnajit, the length of the face of an idol is 14 *angulas* (and not twelve as it should be according to others) of the idol itself and that this is the measure in the Draviḍa country. Utpala quotes here an Anuṣṭubh of Nagnajit to the same effect. On Br. S. 57.15 Nagnajit is again mentioned and Utpala quotes a half *śloka* from Nagnajit. On Br. S. 55.31 Utpala refers to the works of Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Maya and Nagnajit.

*Nārada*—Acc. to Br. S. 11.5 Nārada thought that Ketu was only one but assumed different forms, while some (like Parāśara acc. to Utpala) held that Ketu were 101 and others (like Garga) held that they were a thousand in number. In Br. S. 24.2 Varāha refers to the fact that Nārada learnt from Brhaspati on Mount Meru about the conjunctions of the Moon with Rohiṇī. Utpala on Br. S. 11.1 refers to Nārada's work on Ketucāra and on Br. S. 11.5 quotes a verse of Nārada.

*Pañcasiddhāntikā*—This work of Varāha has been already referred to. This is referred to as a *Karaṇa* in Br. J. 28.26 (vide note 2 above). At the end of the Br. S. (106. 14) he mentions his own works called *Yātrā*, *Jātaka* and *Karaṇa* (*bahvāścaryam Jātakam-uktam Karaṇam ca bahucodyam*). Two verses from the *Pañcasiddhāntikā* (13.36–37) occur in the Br. S. also (as 4. 2 and 4). In Br. S. 5.18 Varāha says that certain matters about eclipses have been already explained in his *Karaṇa*.

*Parāśara*—Br. S. 7.8 mentions a work called *Parāśaratāntra* in which seven categories of *nakṣatras* in relation to Mercury were declared. Br. S. 11.1 mentions the Ketucāra of Garga, Parāśara, Asita, Devala and others. Br. S. 17.3 states that sages like Parāśara declared four kinds of *grahayuddha*. Br. S. 21.2 mentions that works on prognostications about rainfall were composed by Garga, Parāśara, Kāśyapa, Vajra and others. In Br. S. 23.4 Varāha refers to the views of Garga, Vasiṣṭha and Parāśara on the extent of rainfall. Br. S. 24.2 mentions Garga, Parāśara, Kāśyapa and Maya on the conjunction of the moon with Rohiṇī. In Br. S. 60.1 Varāha states that Parāśara declared to Brhadratha the auspicious signs of cows and Utpala adds that Brhadratha, a pupil of Parāśara, was also called Śārṅgarava. These references establish that a work of Parāśara on the same topics as those of the Br. S. existed in Varāha's day. Parāśara appears to have written also on *Jātaka* or *Horāśāstra*, since in Br. J. 7.1 the doctrines of Maya, Yavana, Maṇittha and Parāśara on *āyurdāya* are referred to and since Br. J. 12.2 refers to Parāśara's view that two *Yogas* called 'srak' and 'sarpa' occur when auspicious planets occupy the (four) *kendra* places in the horoscope or evil planets occupy them all. It is however interesting to note that by the time of Utpala Parāśara's work on *Jātaka* had become unavailable, since on Br. J. 7.9 Utpala expressly states that he found only the *Samhitā* work of Parāśara and he could not find his work on *Jātaka*.<sup>25</sup> On Br. S. II.14

25. पाराशरीया संहिता केवलमस्माभिर्दृष्टं न जातकम् । उत्पल on बृहज्जा, 7. 9; vide note 20 above for the sentences after this sentence.



Utpala quotes a verse (without name) in which it is said that Parāśara learnt Jyotiṣa from Soma and spread it among Yavanas. The saṁhitā work of Parāśara has been quoted hundreds of times by Utpala on Br. S. It must have been a very extensive work in mixed prose and verse. The prose quotations cited by Utpala are often very long (extending sometimes up to even four pages in print) and the total of the prose passages alone will certainly occupy 50 printed pages at least. Besides, many verses in the Anuṣṭubh and Āryā metres are quoted. Vide for Anuṣṭubhs, Utpala on Br. S. 3.39 5.63, 6.6-8, 9.36 (4 verses), 11.22 (3 verses), 21.32, 26.10, 28.18, 30.15, 60.4 (4½ verses), 60.19 (8½ verses), 65.1 (8 verses), 85.14 (4 verses), and for Āryās vide 32.26 (7 Āryās), 97.6, 100.1-14 (27 Āryās on *nakṣatrajātaka*). On 17.27 of the Br. S. Utpala quotes a verse in the Upajāti metre from Parāśara. It is not possible for want of space to draw attention to the interesting information that can be gleaned from the quotations of Parāśara cited by Utpala. A few points only are noted here. On Br. S. 5.80 Utpala quotes a long prose passage where the astrological results are predicated about the months from Kārtika to Āśvina. So the year probably began with the month of Kārtika in Parāśara's day. In several places the *nakṣatras* are enumerated from Kṛttikā to Bharanī (e. g. on Br. S. 5.41-42, 10.18). Both the above passages of Parāśara contain the names of numerous countries in Bharatavarṣa. On Br. S. 8.1 Utpala quotes two verses from Ṛṣiputra in which the view of Vasiṣṭha, Atri and Parāśara on the cycle of Jovian years is mentioned. From Br. J. VII. 1 where the view of Maya, Parāśara and others on *āyurdāya* is mentioned, it follows that Parāśara's work on Jātaka was cognisant of the *rāśi* system. On Yogayātrā 1.16 (folio 10a) Utpala quotes two Anuṣṭubh verses of Parāśara on the prognostications about a marching king facing Ketu. Ṛṣiputra is earlier than Varāha and Parāśara is mentioned by Ṛṣiputra. Therefore Parāśara must have preceded Varāha by some centuries. If we look at the quotation by Utpala from Parāśaratāntra on Br. S. 3.1 which follows the view of the Vedāṅgajyotiṣa on the northern and southern passage of the sun, it would follow that Parāśara's work on Saṁhitā was very ancient. It is possible that too different Parāśaras wrote on Saṁhitā and Jātaka respectively and that owing to the lapse of centuries writers like Varāha identified the two.

*Pauliśa*—It has already been stated that Pauliśa is one of the five Siddhāntas the data of which are summarised in the Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāha-mihira. Utpala on Br. S. 2. p. 41 quotes an Āryā from the summary of Pauliśasiddhānta (P.S. verse 39 p. 6). He quotes on Br. S. II p. 24 two Āryās from Pauliśa on *prāṇa*, *vināḍī*, *nādikā* and other measures of time. So on p. 41 (one Āryā), p. 51 (4 Āryās from Pulisācārya), p. 53 (one Anuṣṭubh from Pulisāsiddhānta), p. 55 (4 Āryās from Pulisācārya), on p. 57 (one Āryā stating that the earth<sup>26</sup> is round like a wheel, is immovable in endless space), p. 59 (one Āryā). In other places also Utpala quotes verses from Pulisāsiddhānta e. g. on pp. 27 (an Anuṣṭubh), 28, 37, 51, 53, 55, 59. On Br. J. 2.20

26. तथा च पौलिशे । वृत्ता चक्रवद्वला नमस्यपारे विनिर्मिता धात्रा । पञ्चमहाभूतमयी तन्मध्ये मेरुमराणाम् ॥  
उत्पल on बृहत्सं. 2. p. 57.

Utpala quotes the latter half of an Ārya from Pulisācārya (sarve jayina udakasthā dakṣiṇadikstho jayī Śukrah). On Br. J. 8. 10 Utpala remarks that in the Pulisātantra day and night mean the period from sunrise to sunrise, that Pulisā knows only *saura ahorātra*, and that excepting Pulisātantra in all the siddhāntas the years are *cāndra* with intercalary<sup>27</sup> months. From the above it follows that Utpala had before him a work of Pulisā which was composed mostly in Āryās and rarely in other metres, that it embraced both Samhitā and Jātaka matters.

*Pitāmaha*—It has been stated above that Pitāmaha was the reputed author of one of the five Siddhāntas. Varāhamihira does not mince matters. He expressly says that Paitāmahasiddhānta is far from the truth. Br. S. 1.4 says: what difference is there if a work composed by a human author and another attributed to a divine author like Pitāmaha state the same rule in different words viz. the day named after Mars (i.e. Tuesday) is not an auspicious one.<sup>28</sup> From this it appears that Paitāmaha Siddhānta contained some astrological matters also.

*Ratnāvali*—is M. in Br. Y. II. 1 by Varāhamihira (ajñateṣu pyaphalam ghunā-kṣaramiva prābhātra Ratnāvaliḥ). Utpala on Yogayātrā VI. 26 (folio 47a) quotes a verse from Ratnāvali (Vāhanavāstra-vibhūṣaṇadarpaṇa-varmāyudhāñjanādīnām | nirmāṇam-ātmātulyam bhavati nṛṇām yāyinām svagrhat ||). Similarly on Y. Y. IV.48 (folio 37a) an Āryā is quoted by Utpala from Ratnāvali.

*Rṣabha*—Br. S. 85.1 states that Rṣabha declared the *śakunas* after consulting the views of Indra, Śukra, Brhaspati, Kapiṣṭhala, Garutmat, Bhāguri and Devala.

*Rṣiputra*—Br. S. 45.82 states that certain phenomena are natural to certain *ṛtus* (seasons), that they are not to be looked upon as *utpāda* and indicates no evil consequences and that from the following verses composed by Rṣiputra one can briefly understand what those phenomena are. Then follow verses 83–94 which state the phenomena natural to the six seasons from *Vasanta*. These appear to be the verses of Rṣiputra. Utpala on Br. S. 5.7, 7.15, 8.1, 8.2, 9.37, 17.3, 18.1, 21.30, 24.10, 35.3, 67.1 quotes about 20 Anuṣṭubh verses from Rṣiputra's work which it appears was similar to the Br. S. Two of them, in which Atri, Parāśara and Vasiṣṭha are mentioned by name,<sup>29</sup> may be quoted. It is worthy of note that Utpala on Br. S.

27. नन्वक्रौंदयादारभ्याक्रौंदयं यावदहोरात्रं तत्पुलिशतन्त्रे सौरमहोरात्रं पठ्यते । वसुसप्तहपनवमुनिनगतिथयः शतगुणाश्च सौरेण । इति । एतच्च पुलिश एव जानाति । यस्मात्पुलिशतन्त्रं वर्जयित्वा सर्वसिद्धान्तेषु तन्त्रेषु सौरमानमधिमस्युक्तं चान्नं भवति । उत्पल on बृहज्जा. 8. 10.
28. क्षितितनयदिवसवारो न शुभकृदिति पितामहप्रोक्ते । कुजदिनमनिष्टमिति वा कोऽत्र विशेषो नृदिव्यकृते (v. l. नृदिव्यकृतेः) ॥ बृहत्सं. 1. 4.
29. तिथ्यादि च युगं प्राहुर्वसिष्ठात्रिपराशराः । बृहस्पतेस्तु सौम्यान्तं सदा द्वादशवार्षिकम् ॥ उदेति यस्मिन्मासे तु प्रवासोपगतोगिराः । तस्मात्संवत्सरो मासो बार्हस्पत्योऽथ गम्यते ॥ ऋषिपुत्र quoted by उत्पल on बृहत्सं. 8. 1.

85.15 quotes a long prose passage from Ṛṣiputra on ten kinds of *śakunas*. Utpala in his commentary on the Yogayātrā frequently quotes Anuṣṭubh verses from Ṛṣiputra. One peculiarity of Ṛṣiputra is that he mentions the views of numerous authors on certain points. For example, on Yogayātrā I.15 (folio 8 b), he discusses the views of several writers on what *grahas* may be called *yāyin* (marching i.e. favourable to marching against an enemy by a king), what are *nāgara* (stationary in the capital, i.e. not favourable for invasion). According to him<sup>80</sup> the Āṅgirasas regard Jupiter, the Sun, Mars and Saturn as stationary and the rest and comets are *cara* (marching); that, according to the pupils of Garga, Mars, Venus, Rāhu, the Sun and Ketu are *yāyin*, while the Moon is for 'ākrandasārin', and the rest are *nāgaras*. But Devala declares that only Jupiter, Saturn and Mercury are *nāgara*: Garga and Bṛhaspati are of the opinion that Rāhu, Venus, Mars and Comets are *cara*, while the Sun is *nāgara* in the forenoon, *yāyin* in the afternoon and *ākrandā* in the middle of the day, but the moon is always *ākrandin*. Uśanas gives some further details. Similarly on the question when exactly a king may be described to have become a *yāyin* Ṛṣiputra quoted by Utpala on Yogayātrā (folio 9 b) mentions the views of Gautama, Ātreya, Bhārgava, Devala, Parāśara and Bṛhaspati.<sup>81</sup>

*Satya*—This is a writer very frequently mentioned in the Br. J. (e.g. in 7.3, 7.9-10, 7.11, 7.13, 12.2, 20.10). He is named also in the Brhadyogayātrā 11.34 (Satyācāryasya mate vibalaḥ (?) śastaḥ śaśi prayāṇeṣu). About 90 verses (all in the Āryā metre) are quoted by Utpala from Satya on the Brhajjātaka alone. He sometimes differs from Yavaneśvara (as stated in Br. J. 1.12, 21.3) and sometimes agrees with him (Br. J. 1.15). It is noteworthy that in Br. J. 7.11 Varāha refers to him as Bhadatta (acc. to Utpala 'bhadattasabdena Satyācāryobhibhīyate). Bhadatta apparently stands for Bhadanta, which was an epithet applied to Buddhists. Therefore it seems that Satyācārya was a Buddhist writer. Satyācārya is also mentioned in the commentary of Utpala on Yogayātrā IV. 5 (folio 25 a).

30. तथा च ऋषिपुत्रः ।

बृहस्पतिस्तथादित्यो लोहिताङ्गः शनैश्चरः । स्यावरा धूमकेतुश्च परास्तेभ्यश्चरा गृहाः ॥  
 एवमाङ्गिरसाः प्राहुराचार्याः शास्त्रकोविदाः । गर्गेशिष्या यथा प्राहुस्तथा वक्ष्याम्यतः परम् ॥  
 भौमभार्गवराहुर्केतवो यायिनो ग्रहाः । आक्रन्दसारिणामिन्दुर्यै शेषा नागरास्तु ते ॥  
 गुरुसौरबुधानेव नागरानाह देवलः । चरान्धूमेन सहितान् राहुभार्गवलोहितान् ॥  
 पूर्वोक्ते नागरं सूर्यमपराह्णे तु यायिनम् । आक्रन्दं दिनमध्याह्ने चन्द्रमाक्रन्दिनं सदा ।  
 बृहस्पतेरपि मतं गर्गस्याप्येवमेव तु । किञ्चिदभ्यधिकं वापि विशेषमुशनोऽब्रवीत् ॥  
 योगयात्रा-विवृति on 1. 15 (folio 8b). The योगयात्रा 1. 15 being 'मध्याह्नेऽर्कस्तुहिनकिरणो नित्यमाक्रन्दसंज्ञः' etc.

31. तथा च ऋषिपुत्रः । केचिदन्तःपुरद्वारात्पुरद्वारात्तथापरे । अन्ये नगरसीमान्ताद्योजनान्तात्तथापरे ॥ .....  
 यायित्वं प्राप्नुयाद्राजा इति प्रोवाच गौतमः । एवमेवानुयायित्वमात्रेयोप्यनुपश्यति । ... प्राकारस्य बहिर्यावन्ना-  
 यातेत्याह भार्गवः । ... एवमेतद्विजानीयाद् देवलस्य वचो यथा । यायित्वं लभ्यते स्पष्टमिति प्राह पराशरः ।  
 यायित्वं विषयान्तात् बृहस्पतिरभाषत । योगयात्राविवृति of उत्पल folio 9b.



*Sārasvata*—He is mentioned as a sage (*muni*) and writer on 'dakārgala' in Br. S. 53.99 (quoted in note 23 above). He is frequently quoted by Utpala as on Br. S. 53.7 (3 verses), 53.10 (2), 53.16-17 (4 verses), 53.22 (two verses), 53.24 (one), 53.30 (2½ verses), 53.32 (2), 53.37 (1½), 53.7 (1½), 53.58 (one), 53.64 (2), 53.83 (1½), 53.90 (1½), 53.95 (1½), 53.96 (1½). All quotations are in Anuṣṭubh metre. Alberuni (Sachau, Vol. I p. 158) mentions Sārasvata among Hindu scholars of whom 'we know the names, but not the title of any book of theirs'.

*Siṃhācārya*—Mentioned as a writer in Pañcasiddhāntikā 15.19 (p. 45).

*Śulba*—In the Ms. of the Yogayātrā 8.1 Varāha refers to the rules of Śulba (the Śulbasūtras) according to which an auspicious Vēdi is to be made. The printed Lahore edition reads 'Suddha' for 'Śulba' (probably because the editor could not make out what the word 'Śulba' would mean).

*Sūryasiddhānta*—On Br. S. 17.1 Varāha states that how and when the phenomenon called *grahayuddha* takes place has been described by him in his Karana (Pañcasiddhāntikā) on the section dealing with the Sūryasiddhānta. Utpala on Br. S. 4.1-3 and 5.11 quotes in all five verses from the Sūryasiddhānta which, according to M. M. Dvivedi, are not found in the work which is now regarded as the Sūryasiddhānta.

*Uśanas*—In the Yogayātrā 17.1 (Lahore ed., but 16.1 in Ms.) Varāhamihira refers to the śāstra of Uśanas wherein *mantras* for rendering weapons, umbrellas and banners unassailable were declared. In Yogayātrā (Lahore ed.) 12.23 Varāha refers to the blade of the sword sharpened according to the prescriptions of Uśanas (*idam-Auśanasam ca śastrapānam*). In the Ms. of Yogayātrā the reading is 'śastramānam' and not 'śastrapānam'. In Yogayātrā V. 3 the view of Uśanas is quoted by Varāha himself that no march should be made on Svāti or Maghā *nakṣatra*.

*Vajra*—M. by the Br. S. 21. 2 along with Garga, Parāśara and Kāśyapa on the prognostications about rain-fall. On Br. S. 17. 3 Utpala mentions Vajra along with the same three authors on the four kinds of *grahayuddhas*. He is mentioned along with Kāśyapa, Nārada, Ṛṣiputra as a writer on *Ketuṭcāra*.

*Vasiṣṭha*—It has already been seen that among the five Siddhāntas the Pañcasiddhāntikā mentions Vāsiṣṭha as one. Br. S. 57. 8 states that in the case of images, according to Vasiṣṭha, the distance between the ends of the eyes and the hole of the ear should be four finger-breadths and Utpala quotes a half Anuṣṭubh of Vasiṣṭha to the same effect. Vasiṣṭha is named in Br. Y. IX. 2 and X. 9. Utpala in Br. S. 2. 14 quotes a verse in which Vasiṣṭha is said to have derived the knowledge of Jyotiṣa from Viṣṇu and propagated it among the Yavanas. Br. Y. II. 3 mentions Vasiṣṭha and II. 6 appears to say that he knew Jyotiṣa from Viṣṇu. On p. 58 (Br. S. II) Utpala quotes a *śloka* from the Vāsiṣṭha-siddhānta in which the earth is said to be a solid sphere. On Br. S. 5. 3 Utpala quotes a verse of Vasiṣṭha. On Br. S. 32. 2 Utpala quotes two verses of Vasiṣṭha about the cause of earthquakes. On Br. S. 55.31 Vasiṣṭha is mentioned by Utpala as a writer on building temples. Vide also Utpala

on Br. S. 23.4 for the view of Vasiṣṭha, Parāśara and Gārgya being the same. He is also named and a half verse of his is quoted by Utpala on Yogayātrā I.19 (folio 11 a). Br. Y. 8. 6 opposes the view of Vasiṣṭha to that of Satyācārya (Satyānuśāsanam-idam Vasiṣṭhe nāyam-ekāntaḥ). Br. Y. 11.9 mentions Maniṭṭha and Vasiṣṭha as holding the same view.

So it appears that Vasiṣṭha dealt with topics similar to those in the Br. S. and his work was composed in the Anuṣṭubh metre.

*Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa*—Varāha refers to this when he remarks (in Br. S. 3. 1-2) that the sun's apparent motion to the north began in the beginning of Dhanīṣṭhā and the motion to the south began in the middle of Āśleṣā and that in his own days the two motions respectively took place in the beginning of Makara and of Karka. In the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa of the Ṛgveda we find the verse (prapadyete śraviṣṭhādaḥ sūryācandramasāv-udak | sārpaṛdhe dakṣiṇārdhastu māghaśrāvaṇayoḥ sadā ||).

*Vijayanandin*—M. by Varāhamihira in the Pañcasiddhāntikā 18.62 p. 58.

*Viśvakarman*—Br. S. 55.29 states that according to Viśvakarman the bhūmikā of a temple is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  cubits and Utpala quotes a half śloka thereon from Viśvakarman. Br. S. 78. 10 mentions the view of Viśvakarman about the breadth of the beds of the king, the prince, the ministers &c. and Utpala quotes five verses thereon from Viśvakarman. Utpala frequently quotes a number of verses from Viśvakarman. For example, on Br. S. 52.39-41 he quotes about thirteen ślokas of Viśvakarman, one of which speaks of three kinds of hasta (cubit as a measure) viz. when the aṅgulas are held to be of 8 yava grains or 7 or 6 and some of the other verses specify in what cases these different kinds of hastas were to be employed for measurement. On Br. S. 52.63 Utpala quotes  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ślokas from 'śāstrāntara' on 'śirās' which are very close to Agnipurāṇa chap. 105. 2-4. On Br. S. 52.63 (3 ślokas), 52.76 (one śloka), 52.122 (one śloka), Utpala quotes several verses of Viśvakarman.

*Viṣṇugupta*—The references to Viṣṇugupta in the works of Varāhamihira and the commentaries of Utpala create a good deal of confusion. On Br. J. 7.7 Varāha says that Viṣṇugupta, Devasvāmin and Siddhasena held the same view on āyurḍāya (the length of life indicated by a man's horoscope) and finds fault with them. Utpala quotes an Anuṣṭubh from Viṣṇugupta and expressly states that Cāṇakya was another name of Viṣṇugupta (Viṣṇuguptenāpi Cāṇakyāparanāmaivamuktam). Br. J. 21.3 says that, according to Satya, Kumbha (Aquarius) as the rising sign in a man's horoscope is not auspicious, while the Yavanas say that only the Kumbha dvādaśāṁśa is inauspicious, and Viṣṇugupta finds fault with this view of the Yavanas. Utpala on this (in the printed edition) makes the remark that 'Viṣṇugupta and Cāṇakya' say (atra Viṣṇugupta-Cāṇakyāvāhatuḥ) and quotes two Āryās from Viṣṇugupta. This is however misleading, since the Ms. of Utpala (folio 161a) in the Library of the B. B. R. A. S. (in which the 21st chap. of the printed text is the 19th) reads 'Viṣṇuguptas-Cāṇakya āha'. The same words 'Viṣṇuguptas-Cāṇakya āha' occur in other MSS. also, such as D.C. No. 872 of 1887-91 (folio 125 a), 177 of A 1882-83. Br. S. 2. 4 is

cited by Utpala as a verse of ācārya Viṣṇugupta<sup>32</sup> quoted by Varāha. It is not found in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. Viṣṇugupta is mentioned by the Br. Y. 22.4. In his Yogayātrāvivṛti Utpala several times quotes passages as Cāṇikya's which occur in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.<sup>33</sup> For example, on folio 8a Utpala states, "Cāṇikya says 'sthāna, āsana and upekṣā' are synonyms". These words occur in the Arthaśāstra (VII. 4) on p. 272. So also Utpala (folio 8 a of Yogayātrāvivṛti) says "Cāṇikya āha parārpanam samśrayaḥ". These two words occur on p. 263 of the Arthaśāstra (VII. 1). On Yogayātrā 13.4 (Lahore ed.) where the expression "dharmārthaśāstrāṇi" occurs Utpala explains (folio 78 a) 'arthaśāstrāṇi Cāṇikyaprabhṛtīni'. On Yogayātrā 1.8 (folio 5a 'Buddhvārthaśāstrāṇyapi mantriṇopi &c.) Utpala explains 'arthaśāstrāṇi Cāṇikyaprabhṛtīni'. On Yogayātrā 4.5 Utpala says (folio 26a) 'tathā ca Cāṇikye ātyayikakāryaghāto daivena ca pīḍite ca yātavayam | kevalavilagna-yogādapi ghātāsiddhim-āpnoti ||'. It is difficult to believe that Kauṭilya who condemned excessive reliance on the prognostications from *nakṣatras*<sup>34</sup> would write a work on Jātaka in which too much reliance was placed on the predictions from horoscopes. It looks likely that there were two Viṣṇuguptas, one earlier and identical with Kauṭilya, the author of the famous Arthaśāstra, and another a later one who wrote on astrology and that Utpala who came more than a thousand years after the first and several hundred years after the second regarded the works of these two as composed by the same author. The Sārāvali quotes the views of Cāṇakya on astrology (vide VI. 3).

*Yavana*—This word appears to be used in two senses by Varāhamihira. In Br. S. 2.14 (quoted in note 21) the word 'Yavanāḥ' means the Yavana people in general. But in some other places as in Br. J. 11.1, the word 'Yavanāḥ' means either Yavana authors on horāśāstra<sup>35</sup> or some one writer from among them (the plural being honorific). It should be noted that on Br. J. 1.14 Utpala quotes a half verse (Upajāti) of Yavaneśvara in which that writer himself says that the Yavanas declare that the *navamānśa* of each *rāśi* having its own name is called<sup>36</sup> 'vargottama'. Br. J. 8.9 mentions the view of some of the Yavanas on *daśā* (ante lagnadaśā 'subheti Yavanā necchanti kecit tathā). Śrutakīrti quoted by Utpala on Br. J. 8.9 refers to

32. उक्तं चाचार्यविष्णुगुप्तेन । तथाह । अप्यर्णवस्य पुरुषः प्रतरन् कदाचिदासादयेदनिलवेगवशेन पारम् । न त्वस्य कालपुरुषाख्यमहार्णवस्य गच्छेत्कदाचिदनुषिर्मनसापि पारम् ॥ बृहत्सं. 2. 4.
33. चाणिक्य आह । स्थानमासनमुपेक्षा चेत्यासनपर्यायाः । उत्पल on योगयात्रा folio 8a; चाणिक्य आह । परार्पणं संश्रयः । *ibid* folio 8a.
34. नक्षत्रमतिपृच्छन्तं बालमर्थोतिवर्तते । अर्थो ह्यर्थस्य नक्षत्रं किं करिष्यन्ति तारकाः ॥ अर्थशास्त्र Bk. 4 p. 351.
35. प्राहुर्यवनाः स्वतुङ्गगैः क्रूरैः क्रूरमतिर्महीपतिः । क्रूरैस्तु न जीवशर्मणः पक्षे क्षित्यधिपः प्रजायते ॥ बृहज्जा. 11. 1.
36. तथा च यवनेश्वरः । स्वे स्वे गृहेषु स्वगृहांशका ये वर्गोत्तमास्ते यवनैर्निरुक्ताः । इति । उत्पल on बृहज्जा. 1. 14.



this view of Yavanas but affirms that that view is not held by many.<sup>37</sup> Br. J. 7.1 states that the Yavanas declared that there were 1800 *Nābhasayogas* and the *Sārāvali* (XXI.1) states the same thing. Br. J. 21.3, 27.19 and 21 ascribe certain astrological views to Yavanas. In the *Laghujātaka* (9.6) *Varāha* states that the *rāśi* which is next to the one occupied by the Sun is called '*Veśi*' by the Yavanas.<sup>38</sup> In his commentary on L. J. II. 9 Utpala refers to the views of Yavanas, *Manittha* and others. The *Sārāvali* III.39 states that the Yavanas define the word '*plava*'. This verse of the *Sārāvali* is quoted by Utpala on Br. J. 1.20 where *Plava* and *Veśi* are both mentioned. The views of Yavanas are mentioned by the *Sārāvali* in VIII. 27, IX. 8 &c. From all these it follows that, when the views of the Yavanas are mentioned, we should understand Yavana authors in general. Alberuni (Sachau, Vol. I p. 158) states 'But there is another book still larger than this (the *Sārāvali*) which comprehends the whole of astrological sciences called Yavana i. e. belonging to the Greeks.' This is probably an inference from the verse quoted in note 21.

*Yavaneśvara*—This author is mentioned by Utpala on the *Laghujātaka* 9.6 as *Yavanādhipati*.<sup>39</sup> It has already been shown that *Yavanendra* is mentioned by *Bādarāyana* in a verse quoted by Utpala<sup>40</sup> on Br. J. 6.2. So this *Yavaneśvara* must be separated from *Varāha* by at least a century or two. About 72 verses of *Yavaneśvara* are quoted by Utpala on Br. S. alone and about 63 on the Br. J. All of them are in the *Upajāti* metre. It may therefore be presumed that the work of *Yavaneśvara* was a large one and embraced the matters included in the *Bṛhatsamhitā* and the Br. J. Utpala gives very interesting information about *Yavaneśvara*. On Br. J. 7.9 Utpala states that *Varāha* refers to the views of an ancient *Yavanācārya*, that he (Utpala) has not seen that work but that he only read the work of *Yavaneśvara* *Sphujidhvaja* who mentions the views of Yavana writers of a bygone age and that *Sphujidhvaja* flourished later than the beginnings of *Śakakāla*.<sup>41</sup> From Utpala on Br. J. 9.8 it appears that *Yavaneśvara* wrote also on the topic of *Yātrā* (*Yātrāyām Yavaneśvaropi*).

37. तथा च श्रुतकीर्तिः । अन्ते लम्पदशा द्युमेति यवना नैतद् बहूनां मतम् । तस्मिन् हीनबले यतोन्यसमये सा स्यादतो नेष्यते ॥ उत्पल on बृहज्जा. 8. 9.
38. सूर्याद्वितीयमृक्षं वेतिस्थानं प्रकीर्तितं यवनैः । लघुजातक 9. 6 (folio 33a, Bhadkamkar Collection, Bombay University). Compare बृहज्जा. 1. 20 and the *Sārāvali* quoted by उत्पल thereon.
39. कथयति यवनाधिपतिर्वेति समर्थविधवेष्टम् । उत्पल on लघुजातक 9. 6. This verse is corrupt.
40. यस्माद्वादरायणः । पूर्वापरभागतैः द्युभाद्युभैरलिनि कर्कटे लम्पे । जातस्य शिशोर्मरणं सद्यः कथयन्ति यवनेन्द्राः ॥ उत्पल on बृहज्जा. 6.2.
41. एवं स्फुजिध्वजकृतं शककालस्यार्वाङ्गायते । अन्यच्च यवनाचार्यैः पूर्वैः कृतमिति । तदर्थं स्फुजिध्वजोऽप्याह । यवना ऊचुः । ये संप्रदे दिग्जनजातिभेदाः प्रोक्ताः पुराणैः क्रमशो ग्रहस्य । तदेतज्जायते यथा वराहमिहिरेण पूर्वयवनाचार्यमतमेवोपन्यस्तमस्माभिस्तत्र दृष्टं स्फुजिध्वजकृतमेव दृष्ट्वा (? दृष्टम्) । उत्पल on बृहज्जा. 7.9.

The name Sphujidhvaja does not appear to be Indian. Yavaneśvara is quoted by Utpala on Yogayātrā IV.5 (folio 25a, 26a). The introductory verses of the Sārāvali (I. 3-4) state that Varāha's Horāśāstra is concise, that the subjects of *rāśis*, *daśavarga*, *rājayoga*, *āyurāyā* and *daśās* are not clearly expanded therein, that therefore from extensive works composed by Yavananarendra (Yavaneśvara) and others the author will draw the essence. The Sārāvali several times mentions the views of Yavanarāja or Yavanavṛddha or Yavanādhipati e. g. on IV. 38, V. 16, X. 32, XIV.2, XV. 1, XX. 21 &c. It is remarkable that in XXI.11 the Sārāvali refers to 'pūrva-Yavanendras' thereby implying that its author knew early and later Yavana writers on astrology.

Some general remarks about Varāhamihira and his works may now be made. He casts his net over a wide area. In Br. S. 85.3 he states that in writing on *śakunas* he studied not only Sanskrit works on them but also those in Prakrit. Some of his verses are taken from other works. Br. Y. I.13 is Śāntiparva 58.15. He quotes a verse of Manu (vide above note 24). Yogayātrā II.33 is the same as Atri verse 28. He several times states that such and such a topic is dealt with in his work on Yātrā, but he never specifies whether the reference is to the Br. Y. or to the Yogayātrā. Utpala also says that Varāha has dealt with a certain matter in his work on Yātrā and the reference is generally to the Brhadyogayātrā but not invariably so. For example, on Br. S. 97.12 Utpala says that the *muhūrtas* are enumerated (with the presiding deities) in the work on Yātrā and quotes three verses beginning with 'Śivabhujaga &c.', which are Br. Y. VI. 2-4. They are also quoted in the commentary on Yogayātrā II.34 (folio 19b). Similarly on Br. S. 43.14 (Yātrāyām yadabhihitam grabhajñavidhau &c.) Utpala quotes three verses with the words 'tathā ca Yātrāyām', which are the same as Br. Y. 18. 1-2 and 19.8. On Br. J. 8.22 Utpala quotes three verses introducing them with the words 'Yātrāyām ca vakṣyati' which are Br. Y. 14. 3, 5, 6 (folio 16a). The first verse (14.3) is very interesting and shows the real mind of Varāha that a pure human spirit triumphs over all auspicious and inauspicious signs. The word 'vakṣyati' indicates acc. to Utpala that the Br. Y. was composed after the Br. J. On Br. S. 94.5 Utpala introduces with the words 'uktam ca Yātrāyām', a verse (Śasto nīḍas-tuvaiśākhe pādape &c.), which is Br. Y. 25.1. On Br. S. 103.60 Utpala states that 'the proper time for Yātrā (marching against a rival king) is stated by the ācārya (Varāhamihira) himself' and then quotes two verses, the first of which (Yātrājasimhatura-gopagatā varīṣṭhā &c.) is Br. Y. 12.15 and the second of which (yātrā nṛpasya śaradiṣṭapbalā madhau ca &c.) is Yogayātrā 1.19. On Br. S. 43.31 where Varāha says that the details about the auspicious or inauspicious signs gathered from the nature of the flames of the blazing fire kindled for offering oblations are declared in (the work on) Yātrā, Utpala quotes seven verses introducing them with the words 'tathā ca Yogayātrāyām'. The first five of these verses are Yogayātrā 8.9-12 and 14 and the last two are Br. Y. 19.9-10.

Some of the verses of the Yogayātrā and Brhadyogayātrā recur in the Br. S. For example, Br. S. 42.32 (svāhāvasānasamayā &c.) is the same as Yogayātrā 8.13 (Lahore ed.). Br. Y. 22.20-21 are the same as Yogayātrā 11.14-15 and Br. S.



92.13-14 and are quoted by Utpala on Br. S. 43.18 in connection with Varāha's own words in the last half (yātrāyām vyākhyātām tadiha vicintyam yathāyukti). Several verses of the Br. Y. chap. 21. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, (folio 18b) are the same as Br. S. 93. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and Y. Y. 10. 56-57 (= Br. Y. 21.13-14). Br. S. 4.1-2 and 4 are the same as Pañcasiddhāntikā 13.35-37 p. 36. Br. J. II.16-17 are the same as Laghujātaka II.10-11 (viz. 'śatrū mandasitau' and 'sūreḥ saumya').

Varāhamihira did not often bow down to the dicta of ancient authority. He states the correct view as to how eclipses of the Sun and Moon are caused and scouts the Paurāṇic idea<sup>42</sup> that Rāhu is the cause (Br. S. 5.8 and 13). In the Br. J. 12.6 he says that he mentioned astrological Yogas like Vajra and Yava following the dicta of former authors, but he asks how Mercury and Venus can ever be in the 4th house from the Sun (as required for some of the Yogas).<sup>43</sup> In Br. S. 5.17 he offers the advice that wise men should not make prophecies about the occurrence of an eclipse by following the statements of sages like Vṛddha-Garga (vide p. 8 above). In one place he states that some astronomers say that it is the earth that revolves round itself like a spinning top and not the constellations (that revolve round the earth), but he raises the objection that, if that were so, how birds like the hawk could come back to their nests (in the evening).<sup>44</sup> Modern astronomy has answered that question against Varāhamihira. Alberuni (Sachau, Vol. I. p. 27) refers to this verse. Varāha not only mentions his name and furnishes some information about himself at the end of the Br. J. viz. that he was the son of Ādityadāsa and learnt at the feet of his father, that he received a boon from the Sun at Kāpitthaka and that he was a resident of Avanti (Ujjayini), but he mentions his name in the body of the works also (e.g. in Br. S. 46.2, 85.4). He requests future generations to correct his mistakes or to fill up the gaps in his works when transmitted from teacher to pupil. Utpala vouchsafes the further information that Varāhamihira was a Maga brāhmana (Magadha seems to be a comparatively modern attempt of scribes to substitute a well-known name in place of one that had become obscure).<sup>45</sup>

We must now turn to Utpala.

At the end of the printed Brhājātaka a verse states that the commentary of Utpala was composed in śake 888 (vasvāṣṭāṣṭamite śake) i.e. 966 A.D. In some MSS. of the com. on Br. J. this date is not found (vide Deccan College Ms. No. 177 of

42. भूच्छायां स्वग्रहणे भास्करमर्कग्रहे प्रविशतीन्दुः । ... एवमुपरागकारणमुक्तमिदं दिव्यदुर्गिराचार्यैः ।

राहुरकारणमस्मिन्नित्युक्तः शास्त्रसद्भावः॥ बृहत्सं. 5. 8 and 13.

43. पूर्वशास्त्रानुसारेण मया वज्रादयः कृताः । चतुर्थे भवने सूर्याञ्जसितौ भवतः कथम् ॥ बृहज्जा. 12.6.

44. भ्रमति भ्रमस्थितेव क्षितिरित्यपरे वदन्ति नोडुगणः । यथेवं ज्येनाद्या न खास्त्रनिलयमुपेतुः ॥ पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका 13. 6 (p. 32).

45. तदयमप्यावन्तिकाचार्यमगधद्विजवराहमिहिरोऽर्कलब्धवरप्रसादो ज्योतिःशास्त्रसङ्ग्रहकृत् etc. Intro. to बृहत्सं. 1. 1.

the collection of A 1882-83 and No. 278 of the Viśrāmbāg Collection 1). But the date of composition given by some MSS. may be accepted as correct. Alberuni who wrote his work on India about 1030 A.D. speaks of Utpala and calls him a Kashmirian (vide Sachau, Vol. I pp. 157-158 and 298). In the following, principally those authors and works that have some relation to the topics dealt with in Varāha's works will be mentioned. Those writers and works that are referred to by Varāha and have been already mentioned above will not be cited here again. Some of these, though not expressly named by Varāha, were certainly known to Varāha and some others were probably known to him.

It may be noted that the same three verses form the introduction to Utpala's commentaries on the Yogayātrā, on the Br. J. and on the Br. S. Following the usual idea of ancient times of regarding a man eminent or great in any line of activity as the *avatāra* of some deity, Utpala in the 2nd verse of his introduction regards Varāhamihira as an *avatāra* of the Sun.<sup>46</sup>

The following are the authors and works (apart from those cited above from Varāhamihira himself) mentioned by Utpala in his commentaries on the Br. S., Br. J., L. J. and Y. Y.

**Balabhadra**—Several verses of Bhaṭṭa Balabhadra are quoted by Utpala. On Br. S. II p. 27 three Anuṣṭubh verses are quoted from Balabhadra on the meaning of *tithi*, *sāvāna* and *nakṣatra* and similar words. On p. 34 of the Br. S. (chap. II) five verses are quoted from Balabhadra, the first being an Āryā and the rest being in the Upajāti metre. The first Āryā defines 'deśāntara' as the line drawn from Ujjayinī to Laṅkā in the south and Sumeru in the north. On Br. S. chap. II. p. 35 another Upajāti of Balabhadra is quoted by Utpala. From Alberuni (Sachau, Vol. I. p. 158) we learn that the Br. J. was explained by Balabhadra and (p. 157) Alberuni says that Balabhadra composed a Samhitā.

**Bhadrabāhu**—On Br. S. 9.37 four Anuṣṭubh verses are quoted from Bhadrabāhu on the consequences when Venus rises in the east and Jupiter is at the same time in the west.

**Bhānubhaṭṭa**—One Anuṣṭubh is quoted on Br. S. 9.25 from Bhānubhaṭṭa as to when Venus can be said to have made *Rohiṇī-sakāṭabheda*.

**Bharatamuni**—On Br. S. 52.55-56 Utpala states that Bharata speaks of a house having the shape of a triangle and of a round house (*tathā Bharata-muninā tryasram vṛttam gṛham-uktam*). For a triangular nāṭyagrha, vide Bharata's Nāṭya-śāstra, chap. II.102-104 (Kashi S. Series).

**Bhārgava**—M. by Utpala in the commentary on Yogayātrā (folio 9b).

46. यच्छास्त्रं सविता चकार विपुलैः स्कन्धैर्ब्रह्मिर्ज्योतिषां तस्योच्छित्तिभयात्पुनः कलियुगे संसृत्य यो भूतलम् ।  
भूयः स्वल्पतरं वराहमिहिरव्याजेन सर्वं व्यधादित्यं यं प्रवदन्ति मोक्षकुशलास्तस्मै नमो भास्वते ॥  
2nd intro. verse to बृहज्जातक.

*Bhāskarasiddhānta*—In the introduction to the commentary of Utpala on the Br. J. are quoted four verses from *Bhāskarasiddhānta*, the first of which propounds how Jyotiṣa is an *aṅga* of the Vedas.<sup>47</sup> On Br. J. I.1 again a verse from the *Bhāskarasiddhānta* explaining how a part of the moon appears bright and the rest dark is quoted.<sup>48</sup> These quotations raise important questions about the date of Utpala which will be discussed below.

*Brahmagupta*—About 46 Āryā verses are quoted by Utpala on Br. S. from the *Brahmasiddhānta* i. e. the *Brāhma-sphuṭasiddhānta* of Brahmagupta. On Br. S. 5.19 Utpala quotes two verses from his own commentary on the *Khaṇḍakhādya*, another work (a *Karāṇa*) of Brahmagupta. Utpala quotes Brahmagupta in his comment on Br. J. 1.19 and 8.10.

*Bṛhaspati*—Is mentioned as an author by Utpala several times. On Br. S. 35.3 an Anuṣṭubh of Bṛhaspati is quoted on the prognostications derived from the appearance of a rainbow behind one's back or on one's sides. On Br. S. 52.2-3 three Anuṣṭubh verses are quoted from Bṛhaspati's *Vāstusāstra*. On Br. S. 52.57-58 an Anuṣṭubh is quoted on the consequences of building a house near a *caitya* tree or near trees having thorny barks. On *Yogayātrā* IV. 5 (folio 26a) Utpala quotes a verse of Ṛṣiputra in which Bṛhaspati's opinion is cited. (Vide also note 31 above). In Utpala's commentary on the *Ṣaṭpāñcāśikā* of Pṛthuyāsa a Bṛhaspati Jātaka is mentioned.

*Devakīrti*—is several times quoted by Utpala on Br. J. On Br. J. 1.19 one and a half Āryās are quoted on what *rāśis* are powerful by day or by night or at twilight. On Br. J. I.20 one Āryā is quoted from Devakīrti as to when *grahas* called *saumya* become evil. One fourth of an Āryā is quoted on Br. J. 2.7 and two Āryās on Br. J. 9.8.

*Hiranyagarbha*—On Br. S. 52.39-41 Utpala quotes 8½ Anuṣṭubh verses of Hiranyagarbha in which the appellations of twelve kinds of buildings constructed with stones, with baked bricks, with raw bricks, with logs, with bamboos &c. (called *Mandira*, *Vāstu*, *Sumanta*, *Mānasya*, *Nandana* &c.) are given.

*Īśvara*—On Br. S. 76.11 where the formula for a fragrant mixture of several herbs and mineral products called 'kopacchada' is given, Utpala quotes a *prakrit* verse of Īśvara from a work called 'Gandhayukti' (uktam-Īśvareṇa svasyām Gandhayuktau).

47. वेदास्तावद्यज्ञकर्मप्रवृत्ता यज्ञाः प्रोक्तास्ते तु कालाश्रयेण । शास्त्रादस्मात्कालबोधो यतः स्याद् वेदाङ्गत्वं ज्यौति-  
षस्योक्तमस्मात् ॥ quoted in intro. to com. on *Bṛhajātak*. This and the other three verses are found in the *सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि* of भास्कराचार्य (I. 9-12 Kashi S. Series).
48. तथा च भास्करसिद्धान्ते । तरणिकिरणसङ्कादेष पीयूषपिण्डो दिनकरदिशि चन्द्रश्चन्द्रिकाभिश्चकास्ति । तदितर-  
दिशि बालाकुन्तलद्वयामलश्रीर्घट इव निजमूर्तिच्छाययेवातपस्थः ॥ Com. on *Bṛhajā.* 1. 1. This verse occurs in the *सिद्धान्तशिरोमणि* of भास्कराचार्य ( *सङ्कोचनिवासनाथ्याय* verse 1 ).



*Kālakācārya*—see below on 'Vāṅkālākācārya'.

*Kāmandaka*—(or-ki)—In Br. S. 77.1-2 (dealing with the union of man and woman Utpala quotes 5½ Anuṣṭubh verses from the Kāmandakiyanīṭisāra (7.49-54, B. I. ed. of 1861). In his commentary on the Yogayātrā Utpala frequently quotes Kāmandaka by name. It is not necessary to give an exhaustive list of such quotations. A few examples will suffice. On Y. Y. 1.12 (folio 6b) Utpala quotes two verses from Kāmandaka. Kāmandaka 17.6-7 are quoted on folio 7a of Y. Y. on *dāna* (an *upāya*) being of five kinds. On Y. Y. 2.10 Kāmandaka 4.22 is quoted and on Y. Y. 2.31 (folio 18 b) the very first verse of the Nīṭisāra is cited. All these quotations present important various readings.

*Kātyāyana*—On Br. S. 67.1 Utpala quotes a half Anuṣṭubh verse from Kātyāyana defining 'unmāna' (height) and 'māna' (weight).

*Kiraṇa*—A Kiraṇākhyatantra is frequently quoted by Utpala on chapter 52 of the Br. S. dealing with Vāstuvīdyā (the construction of palaces, mansions and houses). About sixteen Anuṣṭubh verses are quoted on Br. S. 52.13, 20, 23, 28, 29, 38, 41, 116.

*Kumārila*—The same two verses 'siddhiḥ śrotr' &c. and 'sarvasyaiva' &c. are quoted from the Śloka-vārtika of Kumārila-bhaṭṭa (Pratijñāsūtras 19 and 12) about the subject, the relation and aims of a śāstra in the introduction to the commentaries on Br. S., Br. J. and Yogayātrā.

*Mahābhārata*—On Br. S. 1.7 Utpala quotes a verse about *Kāla* 'Kālaḥ pacati bhūtāni' &c. which occurs in the Striparva 2.24 and is quoted by the Mahābhāṣya on Pān. III. 3.167 (Kielhorn ed. Vol. II. p. 167). Vide under Vyāsa below.

*Mayūracitraka*—On Br. S. 35.3 Utpala quotes six verses from the Mayūracitraka of Garga (vide p. 7 above); while on Br. J. 8.10 he quotes a verse of Gārgi from the Mayūracitraka as to the cases in which the Sāvana year was to be taken for measuring time.

*Nandin*—On Br. S. 8.19 Utpala quotes an Anuṣṭubh verse of Nandin which states that when Mercury is observed in the west a beleaguered city falls into the hands of the attacker, but when it rises in the east the beleaguered city is freed from the siege. On Br. S. 35.3 an Āryā is quoted stating that when a rainbow of certain colours is seen behind or by the side of a king starting on an invasion it prognosticates the death of the enemy. On Br. S. 52.73 a half śloka is quoted and one Anuṣṭubh on Br. S. 85.53 is quoted about prognostications derived from birds. Two Āryās are quoted on Br. S. 103.60 stating that an invasion should not be undertaken by a king even though very powerful, if all the astrological indications are very adverse.

*Nāndīyātrākāra*—Three Anuṣṭubh verses and a half are quoted from this writer by Utpala in his comment on Yogayātrā V. 19 (folio 45 b).

*Purāṇa*—On Br. S. 5.1, 24.9, 52.87–88 Utpala quotes verses from Purāṇas (without naming any). When Br. S. 73.20 says that there is no need to feel shame in a man experiencing high happiness in the company of a woman when even Śiva assumed four faces through his fancy for a young damsel, Utpala gives a summary in prose of a Paurāṇic legend.<sup>49</sup>

*Rudraṭa*—Utpala on Yogayātrā I.1 (folio 2 a) quotes the definition of the figure of speech called *Ananvaya* from the Kāvyaśālikā of Rudraṭa (8.11).

*Śakra*—On Br. S. 52.39–41 Utpala quotes one and a half Anuṣṭubh verses on the definition of a house called 'ekasāla' in which the view of Gautama is mentioned.

*Śālihotra*—When Varāha says in Yogayātrā X.51 'vistaronyamunibhiḥ' (folio 69b) Utpala explains that by other sages Varāhamihira means 'Śālihotra' and others. On Br. S. 60.14–16 Utpala quotes two verses expressly from Śālihotra about the auspicious characteristics of oxen that are equal to horses in speed. In the Agnipurāṇa 288.66 (Anandāśrama ed.) Śālihotra is mentioned as having declared 'aśvalakṣaṇa' and chapters 289–291 are introduced with the words 'Śālihotra said'. In the Āśvavaidyaka of Jayadatta (B. I. edition) Śālihotra is expressly mentioned (chap. 3 verse 9) as having promulgated the auspicious and inauspicious signs of horses. There are several other works professing to be based on the treatise of Śālihotra. For example, Deccan College Ms. No. 987 of 1887–91 (dated samvat 1660) is a work of Nakula in which it is expressed that it is a compendium based on the Śāstra of Śālihotra. Similarly, Deccan College Ms. No. 581 of 1899–1915 is said to be Śālihotra composed by Bhojarāja.

*Samudra*—About twenty-two Anuṣṭubh verses are quoted by Utpala from Samudra on the auspicious and inauspicious bodily signs of men and women in chapters 67 and 69 of the Br. S. Samudra is named as an author in the Sāmudrikatilaka of Durlabharāja begun in 1160 A.D. (vide Prof. Velankar's cat. of the Bhau Daji Collection in the B.B.R.A.S.).

*Sārāvali*—16 verses (in different metres) are quoted from the Sārāvali of Kalyāṇavarman by Utpala on chapter 68 of the Br. S. dealing with five classes of males that attain eminence and their signs. Several hundred verses (most of them Āryās) are quoted from the Sārāvali by Utpala in his commentary on the Br. J. Alberuni (Sachau, Vol. I. p. 158) mentions the Sārāvali of Kalyāṇavarman as a large book on astrology.

*Siddhārtha*—Utpala on Br. S. 103.60 quotes five Anuṣṭubh verses from Siddhārtha, the author of a work on Yātrā, on what is meant by a well placed (*susthita*) planet and the consequences of marching on an invasion when the planets are so situated.

49. आब्रह्मकीटान्तमिदं निबद्धं पुंस्त्रीप्रयोगेण जगत् समस्तम् । व्रीडात्र का यत्र चतुर्मुखत्वमीशोऽपि लोभाद्भ्रमितो युवत्याः ॥ बृहत्सं. 73.20. On this उपल says "अत्र पौराणिको श्रुतिः । यथा तिलोत्तमायाः प्रदक्षिणं कुर्वाणाया अतिलावण्योपेताया उमाया उत्सङ्गस्थितायाः कोधमयाद्भगवता तदूपलाम्प्येन तदवलोकनाय चतसृषु दिक्षु मुखचतुष्टयं सृष्टमिति ।"

*Siddhasena*—In Br. S. 21.5 Varāha states the view of some that the days (called 'garbhādivasāḥ') from which prognostications about the days of rainfall (in the rainy season) are to be made begin after the end of the bright half of Kārtika. Utpala explains that Varāha here refers to the view of Siddhasena and others and quotes an anuṣṭubh verse of Siddhasena to that effect. So it appears that Siddhasena was a predecessor of even Varāhamihira.

*Śrutakīrti*—Utpala on Br. J. 1.7 quotes two Āryās of Śrutakīrti for stating the lords of the trīṃśāṃsas of the several *rāśis*. On Br. J. 8.9 (ante lagnadāśā śubheti Yavanā necchanti kecit-tathā) Utpala quotes a half Śārdūlavikrīḍita of Śrutakīrti to the same effect and in almost the same words<sup>50</sup>.

*Tikkanikā*—This work is quoted thrice by Utpala on the Yogayātrā (twice on Y. Y. 5.1 and once on 5.2). On Y. Y. 5.1 folio 41a (Purvādītas-triparivartagatair-Ajādyair-bhaiḥ saptakair-analabhācca gamo jayāya) Utpala quotes a half Āryā from Tikkanikā and later on (folio 41b) he quotes an Āryā from Tikkanikā (here so written in the Ms.) according to which four nakṣatras, viz. Puṣya, Hasta, Aśvinī and Anurādhā are called 'Sarvadvārika'. On the same page (folio 41b) on Y. Y. 5.2 he quotes an Āryā stating that Jyēṣṭhā, Pūrvā-Bhādrapadā, Rohiṇī and Uttarā Phalgunī are called 'Sūlanakṣatras'<sup>51</sup>. It has been stated above that Alberuni regarded Tikkanikā as a third work on Yātrā composed by Varāhamihira himself. Utpala however gives no indication anywhere that Varāha wrote a third work on Yātrā. On the contrary, he refers to only his Bṛhad-Yātrā and Svalpayātrā (vide p. 2 and note 6 above). So also on Yogayātrā 5.10 (folio 43b) he explains 'kṣaṇas' means *muhūrtas* and they are declared by the ācārya (Varāha-mihira himself) in the other Yātrā in the words 'Śiva-bhujageti' and the reference is to the Bṛhadyogayātrā as shown above (p. 2). It appears that in the Govt. Library at Khatmandu in Nepal there is a Ms. of Tikkanikā which is attributed to Varāhamihira in the colophon at the end.

*Vaṅkālaka*—Utpala on Br. J. 15.1 (which deals with the question of *pravrajyā* when four or more planets are in one and the same house in a person's horoscope and are strong) quotes three *prakṛit* verses from an author called Vaṅkālaka-cārya. It is a question whether the text is corrupt and the author is Kālākācārya. The original verse and the *prakṛit* verses are quoted below. The Br. J. says that according as Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, the Moon, Venus, Saturn or the Sun is the most powerful of the four planets in one house the ascetic order to which the person belongs is respectively a Śākya (Buddhist), Ājīvika, a (Vedic) sannyāsin, Vṛddha (śrāvaka or Kāpālīka), Caraka, a Nirgrantha (a naked kṣapaṇaka), a hermit subsisting

50. See n. 37 p. 20.

51. उक्तं च टिकनिकायाम् । दिगनुद्वारेषु जयो विद्वारेष्वद्वेषु मङ्ग इति । folio 41a ; उक्तं टिकनिकायाम् । सर्वद्वारिकसंज्ञं नक्षत्रचतुष्टयं विनिर्दिष्टम् । पुष्यो हस्ताश्विन्यौ नक्षत्रं मित्रदैवं च ॥; उक्तं च टिकनिकायाम् । ज्येष्ठा प्रगम्भद्रपदरोहिण्यश्चोत्तराश्व फल्गुन्यः । शूलानि प्राच्यादिशुभेषु गर्तेभ्येति यदि चित्रम् ॥  
The second half is rather corrupt.



on forest or wild corn or produce.<sup>52</sup> It may be noted that in the Ms. of Utpala's com. on Br. J. in the Bombay Asiatic Society's Library the name is in some places Baṅkālākācārya and in others Bāṅgālākācārya and that Ms. quotes three more *prakrit* verses on the same than those occurring in the printed edition (on folio 146 a and 146 b).

*Vararuci*—Utpala on Br. S. 65.1-2 quotes three Sragdharā verses on the characteristics of horses. On Br. S. 65.3 Utpala quotes an Upajāti from Vararuci on the same subject and it seems also that nine verses that follow it are quoted from the same author.

*Virabhadra*—On Br. S. 5.3 Utpala quotes an Anuṣṭubh verse from him describing what Rāhu is like.

*Viradatta*—Utpala on Yogayātrā 4.16 quotes an Āryā from this author on the time for starting on an expedition.

*Virasoma*—On Br. S. 1.2 and Br. J. 1.2 Utpala quotes a half *śloka* from Virasoma (Virasena on Br. J. 1.2 printed) author of Hastivāidyaka.<sup>53</sup> But the Ms. (in B. B. R. A. S. Library) of Utpala's comment on Br. J. 1.2 reads Virasoma.

*Viṣṇucandra*—On Br. S. 18.8 Utpala quotes an Āryā from ācārya-Viṣṇucandra wherein it is said that in astrology the conjunction of planets with the Sun is designated 'astamaya' (setting), the conjunction of a planet with the Moon is called *samāgama*, while the conjunction of Mars with planets (other than the Sun and the Moon) is styled *grahayuddha*.<sup>54</sup> This verse of Viṣṇucandra is cited by Utpala on Br. J. 2.20 also. Utpala on Yogayātrā IV. 48 (folio 37 a), on IV. 51, 52 and 53 quotes Āryā verses from Viṣṇucandra.<sup>55</sup>

*Vyāsa*—Vide under Dvaipāyana and Mahābhārata above. Utpala on Br. S. 17.5 quotes a verse of *Bhagavān* Vyāsa which occurs in Harivamśa, Viṣṇuparva, chap. 122.63 (Chitraśālā ed.). On Br. S. 64.8 Utpala quotes two Anuṣṭubh verses from Vyāsa Muni which are Droṇaparva 132.29 and 31. On Br. S. 77.13 two Anuṣṭubh

52. एकस्यैश्वतुरादिभिर्वलयुतैर्जाताः पृथग्वीर्यनैः । शाक्याजीविकभिश्चुद्धचरका निर्ग्रन्थवन्याशनाः । माहेयज्ञगुरुक्ष-  
पाकरसितप्राभाकरीनैः क्रमात् प्रव्रज्या बलिभिः समाः परजितैस्तस्वामिभिः प्रच्युतिः ॥ बृहज्जा. 15.1.  
तथा च वङ्गालकाचार्यः । तावसिओ दिणगाहे चन्दे कावालिओ तहा भणिओ । रत्तवडो भूमिसुवे एअद-  
ण्डिआ ॥ देवगुरु शुक्र कोण कमेण जई चरअ खवणाई ॥ तथा च वङ्गालकसंहितान्तरे पठ्यते । जलग-हर-  
सुगअ-केसव-सूई-ब्रह्मण-णग-सगोसु । दिक्खाणं णाअवा सूरहगहा कमेण णाहगआ ॥ उत्पल on  
the above. Is the author अकलङ्क or वङ्गालकलङ्क ?
53. तथा च हस्तिवैद्यककारो वीरसोमः । समासोक्तस्य शास्त्रस्य सुखं ग्रहणधारणे । इति । उत्पल on बृहत्सं. 1.2.
54. दिवसकरेणास्तमयः समागमः शीतरश्मिसहितानाम् । कुसुतादीनां युद्धं निगद्यतेन्योन्ययुक्तानाम् ॥ उत्पल on  
बृहज्जा. 2.20.
55. शून्यं केन्द्रं कष्टं पापसमेतं च कष्टतरम् । धन्यं शुभसंयुक्तं पापेपि स्वोच्यते (स्वोच्चे?) शुभं प्रोक्तम् ॥ विष्णुचन्द्र  
q. by उत्पल on योगयात्रा 4.51 (folio 37b).

verses and an Āryā are quoted by Utpala from 'Bhagavān Vyāsa' about a wife who is like Lakṣmī, about a bad wife and about a wife being a shadow of the husband. On Br. S. 5.26 (which states that if there is an eclipse of the Sun and the Moon in one and the same month, it is a prognostication of wars among kings and destruction). Utpala quotes two verses of Vyāsa, the first of which is Āśvamedhikaparva 77.15 and the second is Bhīṣmaparva 3.32.<sup>56</sup> On Yogayātrā 1.1 (folio 2 b) Utpala quotes a half verse of Vyāsa (svargadvāram prajādvāram mokṣadvāram triviṣṭapam) and on Y. Y. I.31 (folio 19a) another half verse 'aparādhānurūpam ca daṇḍam daṇḍeṣu pātayet'.

*Yama*—On Br. S. 52.76 Utpala quotes two Anuṣṭubh verses of Yama about not doing certain things (such as driving pegs &c. in certain parts of houses). On Br. J. 8.3 an Āryā of Yama is quoted by Utpala on the subject of *daśās*.

*Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*—On Br. J. 2.5 Utpala quotes a part of Yāj. 1.298.

In several places in his commentaries Utpala refers to his own works. On pp. 64–65 of his commentary on the Br. S. (chap. 2) he quotes several verses of his own introducing them with the words 'tathā cāsmadiya-vacanam'. It has been already stated above that he quotes two verses from his commentary on the Khaṇḍakhādya, a Karana (of Brahmagupta). On Br. S. 52.57 he quotes 2½ Anuṣṭubh verses from his own Vāstuvidyā ('tathā cāsmadiyavāstu-vidyāyām'). In a Ms. (No. 346 of 1879–80 of the Deccan College Collection) dated *samvat* 1557 (i.e. 1500 A.D.) there are 75 verses on Praśnājnāna, which appears from the colophon to have formed part of a work called Jñānamālā composed by Utpala.<sup>57</sup> Utpala refers to this work in his commentary on the Śaṭpañcāśikā of Pṛthuyāsa, son of Varāha. Utpala frankly admits, while commenting upon Br. S. 76.4 (dealing with hair-dyes for transforming grey hair into dark hair) that he only explains the words of the whole of the Br. S. but he is not an adept in the matter of hair-dyes and the like.<sup>58</sup>

56. तथा च भगवान् व्यासः । चन्द्रसूर्यानुमौ प्रस्तावेकमासे त्रयोदशे । अपर्वणि प्रहावेतौ प्रजाः संक्षपयिष्यतः ॥  
quoted by उत्पल on बृहत्सं. 5.26. It may be noted that the Bombay edition reads this verse (which is भीष्मपर्व 3.32) as "प्रस्तावेकमासौ त्रयोदशीम्". The reading adopted by उत्पल shows that the reading of the Bombay edition is corrupt and cannot be accepted as correct. Vide History of Dharmasāstra, vol. 3 p. 906 n. 1767 for these passages.

57. The last verse and the colophon of Deccan College Ms. No. 346 of 1879–80 are :

भट्टोत्पलेन शिष्यानुकम्पया विलोक्य सर्वशास्त्राणि । आयातिसप्तत्वेष्टा ( ? आर्यसप्ततिरेष्टा ) प्रश्नज्ञानं समासतो रचितम् ॥ इति भट्टोत्पलाचार्यविरचितायां ज्ञानमालायां प्रश्नग्रन्थः समाप्तः । संवत् १५५७ वर्षे ज्येष्ठ सुदि सोमज्योतिर्लीला लिलेखि.

58. पाकवेधगन्धधूपनानि लोकतो ज्ञेयानि । आचार्येण नोक्तानि । अस्माभिर्ग्रन्थविस्तरभयान्न प्रदर्शितानि । यतः सकलसंहितास्माभिर्व्याख्यातुमारब्धा केवलमत्राक्षराणां व्याख्या क्रियते न चास्माकमत्र तथाविधं प्रावीष्यम् ।  
उत्पल on बृहत्सं. 76.4.



That Utpala was a Kashmirian was stated by Alberuni (vide p. 23 above). Some corroboration of this statement may be found in certain words of Utpala. On Br. S. 52.14 he paraphrases the word 'Kosābhavana' employed by the Br. S. as 'gañjah'. On Yogayātrā 1.17 (folio 10 b) he explains 'Kosā gañjah' and on Yogayātrā 2.32 'Kosāsa' as 'gañjasya'. 'Ganja' means 'treasury'. The word 'Gañjavara' meaning 'a treasurer' (who was a brāhmaṇa in this case) occurs in the Inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Soṇḍāsa found at Mathurā (vide E.I. IX p.247). The word also occurs in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī V. 177 as the name of a high functionary. The word 'gañjapati' occurs in the Taleśvara plate (E.I. XIII p. 109 at p. 115) found in Almora in the U.P. In several other places he sets forth vernacular words in explaining Sanskrit words. For example, on Br. S. 57.17 he explains 'jānukapicche' by saying that in popular language that word means 'ekkalake'. On Br. S. 67.95 he explains 'Mṛdaṅga' as 'vāditro maṇḍaleti prasiddhaḥ'. On Br. S. 85.39 the word 'kṣveḍa' is explained as 'mukhasābdaḥ śoḍaniketi prasiddhaḥ'. On Yogayātrā 14.3 (folio 80a) the word 'ākṣveditam' is explained in the same way by Utpala but the Ms. reads 'śoṇḍikā'. On Br. S. 87.6 he explains the word 'bhrṅgāra' as 'dāṇḍānī damani.' If we could find which of the vernaculars of India employed all these words in the 10th century A.D. that would place the question of the country of Utpala beyond discussion.

It has been assumed above, relying on the date furnished by some MSS. of Utpala's commentary on the Brhājātaka and the mention of Utpala by Alberuni, that Utpala flourished in the 10th century A.D. As stated in note 47 above the introduction of Utpala to his printed commentary on Br. J. cites four verses from the Bhāskara-siddhānta which occur in the Siddhānta-śiromaṇi of Bhāskarācārya (1.9-12) and a verse quoted in the com. on Br. J. 1.1 ('taraṇikiraṇa' &c.) also occurs in the Siddhānta-śiromaṇi. Bhāskarācārya was born in śake 1036 (1114 A.D.) as he himself states and composed the Siddhānta-śiromaṇi in his 36th year (i.e. in 1150 A.D.).<sup>58</sup> If Utpala really took five verses from the Siddhānta-śiromaṇi of Bhāskarācārya it would follow that Utpala must have flourished a good deal later than 1150 A.D. This would be about 200 years later than the date arrived at from the colophons to the MSS. of Utpala's com. on Br. J. and would be opposed to the mention of Utpala by Alberuni in 1030 A.D. The editor of the Br. J. therefore suggests that we should read the verse at the end of the com. on Br. J. as 'vasvaṣṭāṣṭimite śāke' (and not as 'vasvaṣṭāṣṭamite śāke') and that therefore Utpala flourished in śake 1688 (and not 888). But this is a desperate suggestion. The editor was probably not aware of the mention of Utpala by Alberuni. I should suggest that either Bhāskarācārya took those five verses from some older work by another writer called Bhāskara or (more probably) that these verses were marginal verses noted by some learned scribe or reader and were subsequently incorporated by copyists as part of Utpala's own commentary. It appears that there were two Bhāskaras who wrote on astronomy, an earlier one and a later

59. रसगुणपूर्णमहीसमशक्तृपसमयेऽभवन्ममोत्पत्तिः । रसगुणवर्षेण मया सिद्धान्तशिरोमणी रचितः । गोले प्रश्नाध्याये  
58.

one, the earlier having flourished about 522 A.D. (vide *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. VI pp. 727 ff.). But this fact cannot solve the problem. There is nothing to prove that the earlier Bhāskara's work contained the above five verses or to show that the later Bhāskara who was a most eminent and erudite man borrowed five verses from a predecessor. My conjecture that the five verses from Bhāskara-siddhānta quoted in the printed text of Utpala's commentary were not originally there and were incorporated by scribes from some marginal note made by another person is rendered very probable by the fact that some MSS. of Utpala's commentary on the Br. J. do not contain those verses. For example, the very old but incomplete Ms. of Utpala's com. on Br. J. in the Bhadkamkar Collection of MSS. in the Bombay University (which stops at chap. 4 verse 19) altogether omits these five verses from the Bhāskara-siddhānta.





## CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS. I.

*A re-examination of the older Taxila Hoard.*


D. D. KOSAMBI

Most of the metal coins known to us are either struck from dies, or, in older days, cast in moulds. Punch-marked coins differ from both of these in that they are bits of metal on which several different marks are stamped, each with its own separate punch; and stamped in such irregular fashion that no mark appears complete on all the coins. One has, therefore, to establish these marks by careful comparison of their visible portions on several different coins of the same type. This has been done by scholars like Durgā Prasād (1), Walsh (2), and Allan (3), none of whom succeeded in making any contribution to the chronology of the groups that they had established. The principles on which the chronological order of these coins may be determined have been set forth in previous communications (4, 5, 6) to which nothing of theoretical importance need be added. The method rests upon the fact, verifiable for modern (6) as well as ancient currencies of known dates, that the amount of wear of coins is directly proportional *on the average* to the time of circulation. This seems obvious; the difficulty lies in its application. There is variation in the weight of the coins at the minting and this is further increased by the handling. The loss of weight in time, therefore, is just a process over an aggregate which is the more accurately measurable, the greater the number of coins observed in each group. A single coin or half a dozen coins of one issue compared to the same number of another issue might not show the correct age-weight relationship; but for a hundred coins each the effect is much more certain. In dating ancient coins from their rate of wear, it is necessary to have all specimens from one single hoard; these coins must not have been severely damaged by burial and the effect of cleaning; nor must they be selected in some particular way as for example for the clarity of their marks. It is necessary that the entire hoard—presumably deposited by a random selection from the currency actually in circulation at the time—be observed without further selection or without irregular, severe loss of weight by further handling.



The statistical procedure for the comparative study of coin groups is an adaptation of classical methods (4) which will not be re-explained here. It should be realized, however, that statistics by itself cannot group the coins; it is of use only in discrimination between the groups. This adds to the difficulty in dealing with punch-marked coins because the symbols are heraldic marks of unknown significance and there is no immediately obvious mark which corresponds to the date of issue on later coinages. It is essential to discuss the most reasonable methods of grouping first and then to see how these groups may be arranged in their chronological order by means of average weights. It is assumed that all the coin issues were meant to be the same fixed amount of precious metal. An infinitesimal loss of weight occurs every time the coin

is rubbed by handling. The longer the period of circulation, the greater the number of transactions in which the coin has figured and the greater the loss of weight.


There is no single unique system either of weights or of marks for all the coins under discussion. We must exclude for the present the "minute" coins which served as small change, the long-bar (or more strictly the bent-bar) coins which were local currency in the Punjab and Frontier Provinces and the post-Mauryan systems which are to be observed in two unpublished hoards of the Madras Museum. These last, with the Paila Hoard at the Lucknow Museum, I hope to consider in some other note. We shall restrict ourselves here to the punch-marked coins generally found in the region from Taxila to Bihar and all based on a common standard. These coins have, with very few exceptions, 5 marks on the obverse and an irregular number of marks, or none, on the reverse. Of these 5 marks, one is a disc with (generally) 16 emanating rays which is often called the "sun symbol" and is undoubtedly the *cakra* which we associate to this day with sovereignty. This, being universal, is to be ignored for the purposes of grouping. The next commonest symbol is some form of a wheel with 6 points or spokes which we agree to call the *śaḍaracakra*. The remaining symbols present a considerable variety and offer the main difficulty in grouping.

One step in the right direction is taken by identifying one particular mark with the Mauryan period. This mark is that of a crescent on three arches  . Accepting this identification, we note that the Mauryan coins on which it occurs are then associated with just one particular type of the *śaḍaracakra*, where the arrow-like points alternate with taurine symbols. This leads us to the belief that each type of the symbol is definitely associated with a dynasty. We have now accounted for three of the five symbols on the general issue of Mauryan coins. The question that arises is whether each 5-mark group represents one king, or whether some finer grouping should be carried out, or whether one may deny altogether that these marks are associated with kings. The last possibility is disposed of by the two *cakras* and also by some of the exceptional coins that we find on rare occasions. These exceptions have 5 symbols on the obverse of which at least three are small "homo" signs i. e. figures resembling human beings. These do not contain either *cakra*, the most plausible explanation being then of a tribal oligarchy or republic without the assumption of individual sovereignty. If each group of five marks were to be taken as associated with a single monarch, we should be led to the curious result that there are at least 60 Mauryan emperors and there is no possible authority for this in any historical reference. Contradictory as these records are in many details, the maximum number of Mauryan emperors cannot possibly exceed 10. Of these, the first three, namely Candragupta, Bindusāra, and Aśoka had long reigns attested by the uniformity of all tradition. It follows, therefore, that we must look for further grouping in the remaining two of the five marks. On closer examination, it does turn out that of these two marks some are common to more than one group and some are individual types. We may for convenience call these the fourth and the fifth marks

without necessarily asserting that such was the order in the stamping of these coins. Now, it is remarkable that the number of different fourth marks on Mauryan punch-marked coinage is about 9; this leads to the very plausible conclusion that *this fourth mark is the personal mudrā or signet of the king for his coins* while the fifth is that of the minister, issuing authority, or mint master.

The marks from the coins occur very rarely on inscriptions, usually at a much later period such as, for example, the Sātavāhanas who also imitated some of the coin marks. We have necessarily to proceed on the basis of logical consistency added to the plausibility of our conjectures. Now the basic conjecture about the Mauryan mark is very well supported by the earlier Taxila hoard (2). This is roughly dated by a coin of Phillip Arrhidaios in mint condition which could not have been deposited at Taxila much after 317 B. C. The Hoard contains 1171 punch-marked coins of which not one has the Mauryan crescent-on-arches.  About the fourth and fifth marks, we have further support and therewith a further added identification. Under the hypothesis of the preceding paragraphs, if the fourth mark be the signet of an emperor, then the emperor that ruled the longest in reasonably peaceful, stable, and prosperous times should presumably have the greatest number of different issues. For the Mauryan period, this means only one ruler, Aśoka. His *mudrā*, therefore, is the "caduceus", three ovals crossed by a line:  Now this mark is found on some of the coins in the earlier Taxila hoard, but there is always a clear distinction. The signet of Aśoka has ovals that touch each other while the earlier has ovals which are not tangent. Corresponding to this is the hitherto unsolved riddle of the two Aśokas which confuses all students of Buddhist records. Besides the great convert, there is an older "Kālāsoka" and this should be easily explicable if we remember that these older punch-marked coins were also current at the time Buddhist records were first written down. The people would be familiar with the signet of the great Aśoka and also realize that there existed a far older emperor, whose name was lost in antiquity, who had precisely the same personal mark. Thus, Kālāsoka is to be read as "the ancient Aśoka" and not as "the black Aśoka". There is a further distinction between Mauryan and pre-Mauryan coins, the former being thicker, with more copper, while the latter are generally thinner and contain a greater proportion of silver. Statistically, I have proved (4) that the Mauryan coins are also much more crudely minted; though the average weight was the same, the variation is much higher than that observed in the older Taxila hoard. In the mixed hoards deposited in finds of the Mauryan period, the contrast is quite obvious. There is another, less noticeable, distinguishing feature. The Mauryan coins have generally a single large mark on the



reverse, while the earlier have an innumerable variety of reverse marks, to which a Mauryan addition might some times be stamped in the shape of the larger mark or . The older reverse-mark system dies out during the Mauryan period.

The greater debasement of the *kārṣāpaṇa* in the Mauryan period is attested by some late tradition, as for example by Dhammapāla, commenting on the *Mahāvamso* (Mhvs. 5.16 ff.), who ascribes it to the minister Cāṇakya. Patañjali refers in passing to the cults established by the Mauryans for the sake of money (on Pāṇ. 5.3.99). In fact, a vast territory had been opened up by the Mauryan conquest, which first brought the new trade and coinage to the Indian peninsula. This suffices to account for the debasement actually found as a concomitant of the shortage of currency.

On the basis of the foregoing, it would have become comparatively easy to arrange the Mauryan coins in their chronological order if we had sizeable finds from a single hoard with accurate weight given for each coin. Unfortunately, the last condition is almost always neglected. The only evidence that might have helped comes from 7. Even here, a selection has been made of the total number of coins, and the classification is not particularly intelligent. Worst of all is the removal (7, p. iv of the Introduction) of a copper coating supposedly made by the addition of molten copper to the original silver coin in order to raise the weight. This is not only a ridiculous assumption, for the normal procedure in plating is to use the more precious metal for the outer layer, but it is also extremely difficult to execute such plating with any accuracy. The fact of the matter is that electrolytic action due to centuries of burial in a damp soil has drawn the copper of the alloy to the surface; this does not seem to have been known to those who analyzed the Purnea Hoard; and their efforts, therefore, have quite definitely damaged the evidence. We may, nevertheless, present a tentative chronological order as in Table I. The five marks are followed in each case by varieties of the fifth mark, and the order is approximately that of weight. The last five kings are uncertain in order because the total number of coins in some cases is as low as seven. Comparison of the purāṇic, Buddhist, and Jain records increases the uncertainty of nomenclature. The argument for identifying the most prolific coinage as that of Aśoka has been given above. Bindusāra is then identified by a lighter group of coins fairly large in numbers. The reasoning is further supported by the fact that Aśoka's signet occurs as a fifth mark on some of Bindusāra's coins. By mere comparison of marks, this might have signified at most a father-son relationship without saying which was which; that can only be said in the final analysis by comparison of weights for the two groups which is here perfectly clear. We know from the *Divyāvadāna* that Aśoka

was viceroy at Taxila during his father's lifetime. This type of relationship is also seen in other coin groups and is of considerable help in supporting our method. We further note that Bindusāra's coins contain the peacock on five arches. Now the dynastic name is, strictly speaking, a Sanskritized form of *morīya* which means literally "of the peacock" and the peacock-on-arches therefore must be regarded as a mark of origin or of a totem. The Jain encyclopædia *Abhidhānarajendra* cites references giving a tradition that these kings originated in a *Moriya-grāma* though in earlier Pāli literature the only occurrence of the Mauryan name is of a tribe occupying the Pippalivana. Thus, the crescent on three arches could signify a descent from the moon, which is also claimed by many Indian princelings to this day. In European heraldry, such arches are often taken to represent a mountain or a range of mountains. I may point out here that they could represent the Sanskrit *nāka* which is the vault of heaven. Generally, the expression is *tri-diva* which would necessitate three arches; the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* xvii. 62 distinctly mentions five successive regions of the heavens and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* viii. 6.1 *nākaśaḍ* refers to the fifth layer of bricks in the fire-altar which thereby represents the home of the gods. The interpretation of five arches as *nāka* is thus supported. It must be mentioned here that classifications made by people like Walsh suggesting that these marks refer to areas where the coins were minted because peacocks or other animals were found on local mountains is too childish even to be considered. As some of these marks go back to Mohenjo-daro seals, and are also found described in tantric literature as symbols of mysterious potency, we may conclude, in view of the traditional usage of wearing certain types of coins as charms, that the marks possess some deep and mystic ritual significance.

The reasons for not starting Table I with Candragupta will appear later. It must be understood that other Mauryan kings may have existed and issued coins which have not been included; my purpose in this note is merely to arrange the better known groups in their proper order. These can then serve as points of reference for future work. In addition to the imperial coins, the signets of these Mauryan emperors occur also on coins without a *cakra* but with homo signs. These are to be taken as tribal coins issued under the hegemony of the corresponding Mauryan ruler. The Mauryan fourth-mark *mudrās* are also to be found on a parallel coinage, namely that of the type which appears at the very end of Table II, and which I ascribe to Candragupta. The *Śaḍaracakra* is generally identical with the Mauryan; sometimes the crescent-on-arches mark is also carried over, and the coins are clearly contemporary with the corresponding Mauryan coins because the spread in weight is just as much as the spread for the totality of Mauryan coins. In a few cases there is reason to believe that the *cakra* is slightly different (Walsh's 1.u) but this is not certain. I suggest the explanation as of a coinage begun by Candragupta and continued by his successors; the main imperial system is as depicted in Table I.

We now come to the earlier coins which I study here from the Taxila Hoard alone. The unique importance of this hoard was not realized before studies of several

later hoards showed much rougher minting, and much greater variation of weight due not only to crude manufacture but also to the stripping of encrustations and de-cuprified surfaces. My previous analysis could not go very far because Walsh's published data was full of errors and misprints which showed themselves as incompatibilities in his statements without making clear just what the correct statements ought have been. Fortunately, by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India, I had a chance of re-examining this hoard at Bombay in 1947. The coins have been somewhat disturbed in that several were missing from their original envelopes while 22 had been found without any envelope at all. Assigning these after considerable difficulty to their proper envelopes, there still appear to be some coins missing. Trusting Walsh's data and description in these few cases, a close examination of the remaining coins enabled me to assign many of Walsh's unidentified coins to their proper groups. Moreover, the weights of the coins were roughly checked at the Prince of Wales Museum's balances by Mr. W. Bāṇāvalkar; these weights generally tallied with the original weights entered on the envelopes of the coins themselves, enabling us to correct important misprints in the Memoir. My principal change was in the counting of the reverse marks. Walsh had counted as proper reverse marks only those that appear on the reverse. But some of these appear also on the obverse, particularly among the older coins. Now previous work (4) has shown that these reverse marks were undoubtedly put on at regular intervals of time. For, the coins of this earlier period (in strong distinction to the Mauryan coins) are found with blank reverses, or with one, two, or more marks. The variety of these minute reverse marks is far greater than that of the obverse marks. Counting them regardless of the actual symbols, it was easily proved that the average loss of weight per reverse mark was quite regular, and moreover the number of coins per reverse mark decreased in a very regular geometric progression. This could not possibly have resulted from any other mechanism than a regular periodic check. In other words, these reverse marks by themselves would afford some indication as to the date of the coin. Unfortunately, this cannot be applied immediately for the simple reason that the obverse-mark system and the reverse-mark system appear in two different regions; the reverse-mark system is probably used by traders, not kings. The evidence in support of this is that an earlier coin has been described by Durgā Prasād (1 plate VII) with blank obverse and 13 reverse marks. The tradition of such minute secret "shroff-marks", on tested bits of precious metal, which could be read only by members of an exclusive guild, continues in India to the present day; but so far as periodic testing of coinage is concerned, it dies out in the Mauryan period. Moreover, these reverse marks are also found on Persian sigloi which shows that they belong to the Frontier region.

In the pre-Mauryan period, the only royal authority which is strong enough to issue coins on a sufficiently large scale is unquestionably the expanding kingdom of Magadha. All records are uniformly silent about any other kingdom of comparable size at the time of Alexander. In fact, at about the time the Taxila hoard was deposited, Magadha also absorbed the little kingdom of Taxila, the conquest being facilitated by Alexander's destruction of petty tribal oligarchies which had hitherto



formed buffer states. The bent-bar coins represent the common Frontier currency, so that the bulk of the Taxila hoard comes in the courses of trade from Magadha. My recounting the totality of the reverse marks on each coin might have contradicted former conclusions. However, it turns out to support the older findings in a very satisfactory way. These coins are divided for convenience into two types: the square coins which were made by clipping a plate and rubbing down the piece very carefully to the standard weight; and the round coins which are flattened from a pellet, being somewhat less accurately minted than the square though more regular in appearance. The square class is the more numerous and yields far more satisfactory statistics because of its accuracy of minting. It now turns out that the loss of weight per reverse mark is almost exactly one-fifth of a grain on the average. Moreover, for the square coins, the linear regression explains virtually all the loss of weight. It must again be emphasized that it would be quite impossible for an ancient money changer to measure such a loss of weight on his scales and then to allow for it by punching a reverse mark on the coin; this is seen immediately from the considerable overlapping in weight that we observe between any two groups of coins. A further support for my thesis that the two systems belong to different regions may be derived from separating these coins into groups by obverse marks as was done for the Mauryan period. In each group, even in the oldest, we seem to get coins without any reverse marks at all. Now periodic checking, had it been over the entire region of circulation of these coins, would have made it extremely difficult to find any older group of coins with blank reverse. The coefficient of absorption is not the same nor is the loss of weight identical for each individual obverse group. It is easily seen that if a king died or for some other reason stopped issuing coins at Pātaliputra his coins would continue to reach Taxila for a considerable number of years afterwards and would then still be with blank reverse while their weight would be lower than later coins, thus showing a lower loss of weight per reverse marks. I used this fact to compare all obverse groups with blank reverses and was then able to arrange in chronological order four major groups: Walsh's A. 1, C, D, and B. e. 2. The inaccuracy of the data did not justify any further refinements at that time.

We now have two methods for dating, namely average age in reverse marks and also average weight. The former is less accurate because the oldest coins tend to disappear more rapidly in circulation. We have already seen that the system of reverse marks was not universal, whereas loss of weight by circulation is independent of any system of marking. Moreover, we do not know what period should be assigned to a reverse mark; but the existence of a very old 12-year cycle throughout East Asia inclines me to take that as the most plausible period.

There are not less than eight prominent kings represented in the hoard, with coins having as many as 20 reverse marks. The lustrum of four or five years would give at most 80-100 years for this hoard and that seems decidedly too short both from what is credible in the historical records and from what is known generally of longer imperial reigns. No calculation of the reverse mark period is possible from modern

coins because loss of weight depends both upon the alloy and the rate of circulation, the latter depending essentially upon the total amount of available currency. We have no information on this score for the coins under consideration. It must be emphasized that mere random shroff-marking would not suffice to account for all the observed features of the coins, particularly loss of weight and reduction in number, without periodicity in time. The correlation coefficient for reverse-marks against weight in the Taxila Hoard is .46, i. e. the same as for British Indian Rupee dates against the weight of the rupees, as was found by my weighings in 1940-1941.

Having arranged the major coin-groups by weight, the minor coin-groups can to a considerable extent be assigned their proper position. The difficulty lies with the precise identification. Starting from the bottom of Table II, it can be seen that Candragupta's is a reasonably safe identification, though I was not able to make it previously. In the first place, all the coins of that group with a single exception have blank reverses, the exception having one mark according to Walsh. But on my own re-examination this "reverse mark" is only a misapprehension on the part of Walsh; the coin is actually the heaviest in the entire hoard. It may be pointed out here that some coins show a peculiar type of *raised* mark on the reverse. This might have been due to 'ghosts' raised by heavy stamping on the other face, or to a blow received when in contact with some other coin. Generally, they do not show in the photographs published. To revert to the Candragupta coinage which Walsh has labelled B. e. 1.2: I have already remarked that the characteristic marks of the three parallel arches, the central one being higher than the other two, and of the animal with young are continued with Mauryan signets right through the succeeding age. Since the Mauryans traditionally wiped out their predecessors, the Nandas, it follows that this coinage can only be associated with the Mauryans. Walsh's D is an immediate predecessor because no other group is seen to intervene, on calculating average weight as well as average number of reverse marks. This class D can certainly be ascribed to Mahāpadma Nanda, and the legend of the 9 Nandas is then to be explained after the Jain tradition by taking *nava* to be "new". Before Mahāpadma we have a king whose mark of descent is that of a bull on 5 arches. Among these earlier Taxila coins the elephant mark is common to almost all the rulers so that it must have had some special significance, perhaps the principal issue or the first issue of each particular king. The *cakra* of this king Nandin is common to several of his predecessors and is therefore presumably of the same or a closely related dynasty. Now these predecessors claim descent from an animal which is not a bull. Their common mark, called by Walsh "hare-hill area" is not of a hare (because of the curly tail) but of a dog or a frisking puppy on 5 arches. This seems to me to be the oldest such mark known, and I am tempted to read in it the hieroglyph *śīsu* (the pup) plus *nāka* (the arches of heaven) equal to *śīsunāka* which is one variant of the name *śīsunāga* (which also means earthworm in Jain Sanskrit) in our records. There seems to be no immediate interval between the last of these and Nandin whose fifth marks are also common to the preceding. But the last of these has as his own personal mark the bull and seems to be the purāṇic Nandivardhana.

He is a ruler comparable in numismatic prosperity to Aśoka himself for his coins are by far the biggest group in the present hoard while being one of the biggest in almost all the hoards laid down even in Mauryan times. The biggest single 5-mark group is of the elephant mark associated with the bull; according to my explanation above, the principal coinage of this particular ruler. This is Walsh's A. 1. A king with the long reign implied by over a dozen other issues is unlikely to be succeeded by his son, and therefore his successor (possibly a grandson), has some right to claim descent from a Nandi. Of the further predecessors Kālāsoka has already been explained before on the basis of the caduceus mudrās. This brings us to Śīsunāga himself, Walsh's B. b and B. c, who has no mark on arches. There is a chance of several other little kings coming at about this time, but the matter cannot be cleared up effectively without further evidence. The position of Walsh's A. 23, a Śaīsunāga with tree and elephant, is doubtful. The remarkable thing about Śīsunāga is that he has groups of coins with at least two different types of cakras. Moreover, his obverse marks appear on the so-called double-obverse coins made by counterstriking older coins of previous rulers. In later times, we see exactly this phenomenon, as for example in the Joghalmembhi hoard, where coins of Nahapāna appear counterstruck by the obverse marks of his conqueror Śātakarṇi. Śīsunāga having counterstruck so many coins shows certain political disturbance and it is this that has led to his identification, for the Buddhist records definitely say that the fifth ruler after Ajātaśatru was deposed by the people, and his *amātya* Susunāga put on the throne by the people. The fact of a sudden change is certainly well supported by our coins. This counterstriking, as well as wear, has obscured the coins of the predecessors of "Susunāga". I might also emphasize that there is always the possibility of some of his successors with short reigns not having issued any other coins to be discovered in this particular hoard. Incidentally, we further see that subsidiary coinages might on occasion be issued by or under the suzerainty of a king with a *cakra* distinct from his own principal *cakra*. This is to be seen also in the Mauryan coins of East Khandesh hoard; and the Taxila hoard, coinages J. K. L. G 1.2 and the last two are feudatories of A; J. 1.2 of C. In this connection, one may recall that though Aṅgā and Magadha were originally two distinct countries, they had a joint name Aṅgā-Magadha at the time of the Buddha while the same is happening for the already hyphenated kingdoms of Kāśī-Kosala where we hear of no king after Pasenadi's son, the usurper Viḍūḍabha.

This leaves us then with just the first coinage on the list which I am forced to assign to Ajātaśatru. It may be objected that at his time there were other kingdoms in existence which may also have issued coins. But as already noted Magadhan expansion was complete well before Alexander and it is known that it was Ajātaśatru himself who was its principal agent. In his days, we hear of no other powerful king except that of Avanti, who is too distant and too legendary to be considered seriously. The one great power surviving at that time was the Licchavi-Vajji oligarchic federation, which could not issue coins with a sovereign's *cakra*.



Moreover, we know that it was Ajātaśatru who finally brought these tribes under his absolute rule. Possibly, coins of the Paila type might represent the coinage of Kosala, as the system of weight is three-fourths that of the general kārṣāpaṇa, the obverse system being of four marks in place of five. One rather faint support for the identification of Ajātaśatru might be seen in one of his personal marks, the rhinoceros. His name in Jain records is Kūṇika and kūṇikā means the horn of an animal in Sanskrit; whether the name suggested the horned beast or vice versa is not clear. The *cakra* contains three trefoils (not ovals as reported by Walsh) which may be blank, or with a dot, or a taurine.

In conclusion, we may note that the actual weight standard at the time of issue of these kārṣāpaṇas is determined by that of the freshest group of the hoard, namely the one which I ascribe to Candragupta. From the 18 square coins of this group, it would be seen that the precise weight of issue is 54.18 grains on the average and this may be taken as established beyond any doubt, whether or not the identification of the coinage with the name of Candragupta be accepted.







































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3. John Allan : *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* (British Museum) London, 1936.
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5. D. D. Kosambi : On the origin and development of silver coinage in India. *Current Science*, 1941, X, pp. 395-400.
6. D. D. Kosambi : The effect of circulation upon metallic currency. *Current Science*, 1942, XI, pp. 227-230.
7. P. N. Bhattacharyya : *A hoard of silver punch-marked coins from Purnea*. Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India, no. 62, 1940.

*Statistical note* : Dealing with the revised data for the earlier Taxila Hoard, we find for square coins alone, the following : 18 coins of class B, e. 2, average weight 54.18 gr; 118 of D, 53.77 gr. 79 of class C, 52.78 gr. 38 of class M, 50.80 gr. 44 double-obverse, 49.37. For 385 of type A, the mean weight is the same as for C, whence

separation into sub-classes and more refined arguments must be used. The variance for the 18 B.e.2 square coins, in grains, is 0.1779 which shows very fine workmanship, lost in Mauryan times. Finally, the regression calculated from 769 square coins gives a loss of weight of 0.1999469 grains per mark, and deviations from linearity as measured by analysis of variance are no longer serious. Coins no. 114, 179, 269, 558, 818 are too light, probably having been clipped or damaged in antiquity. Discarding these increases the loss of weight slightly, so that 0.2 grains per mark is not an excessive estimate. Thus, the oldest coins of this hoard are 25 reverse marks old, and at 12 years per reverse mark, go back to 600 B.C. or earlier. Coins with at least 20 reverse marks (counting those on both sides) are actually found.

TABLE I-A  
MAURYAN EMPERORS AFTER CANDRAGUPTA  
(additional fifth marks shown below dotted line)

|  |    |
|--|----|
|       | 1. |
|      |    |
|       | 2. |
|       |    |
|       | 3. |
|       |    |
|       | 4. |
|     |    |

1. *Bindusāra*

(1. Nos. 105-107; 7. class II. ii. a-h.)

2. *Asoka*

(7 class II. iii. c and II. iv. a-j; 1. Nos. 93-104)

3 ? *Dasaratha*




























(7. II. viii; 1. Nos. 117-120)

4 ? *Samprati*

(7. II. ix. j-k; 1. Nos. 110-112)



TABLE I-B  
MAURYAN EMPERORS AFTER CANDRAGUPTA  
(Additional fifth marks shown below dotted lines)

|  |    |
|--|----|
| <br><br><br><br>      | 5. |
| <hr/>                 |    |
| <br><br><br><br>      | 6. |
| <hr/>     |    |
| <br><br><br><br> | 7. |
| <hr/>      |    |

5 ? *Sālīsuka*

(7. II. ix. a-e; Nos. 113-115; 121-122; see also 123-124)

6 ? *Devadharman*
































(7. II. i. a-b; 1. Nos. 128-130)

7. *Satadharman*

(7. II. x. b-f; 1. Nos. 108-109)

Durgā Prasād's No. 131 has not been included in this table.

TABLE II-A  
AJĀTASĀTRU TO CANDRAGUPTA

|   |    |
|---|----|
|                | 1. |
| ( +     )   |    |
|                | 2. |
| ( +    )   |    |
|                 | 3. |
| ( +  )   |    |
|      | 4. |
| ( +    )   |    |

1. *Ajātasātru*

(2. class M; 1. Nos. 11-15)

Durgā Prasād's No. 16 may be a descendant.

2. *Susunāga*

(2. classes B. b. and B. c; 1. Nos. 5, 51, 52, 7, 8)












































3. *A Śai'sunāga*

(2. classes A. 19, A. 21; 1. No. 69)

4. *Kālāsoka, son of the preceding.*

(2. classes A. 2, A. 18-20, A. 22; 1. Nos. 65-68)

TABLE II-B  
AJATAŚATRU TO CANDRAGUPTA

|   |    |
|---|----|
|        |    |
|        | 5. |
|         |    |
|     |    |
|        | 6. |
| (" + symbol)" data-bbox="238 371 294 401"/>       |    |
|        | 7. |
| (" + symbol)" data-bbox="238 478 294 508"/>      |    |
|        | 8. |
| (" + symbol)" data-bbox="238 591 294 621"/>    |    |

5. *Nandivardhana*

(2. classes A. 1, A. 3-17; 1. Nos. 53-64)

6. *Nandin* (= *Mahānandi* = *Nanda*)

(2. class C; 1. Nos. 45-47)

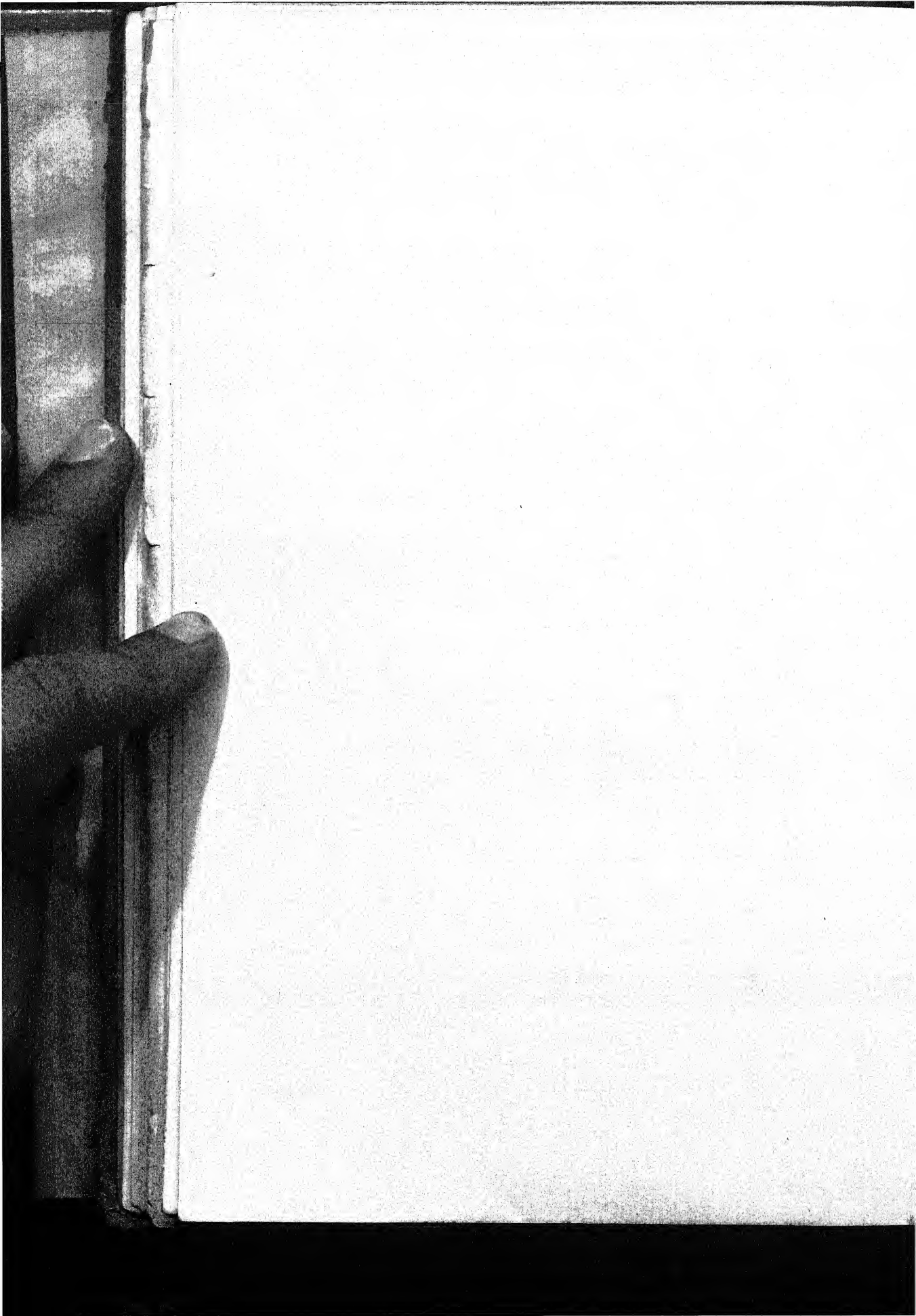
7. *Mahāpadma* (= *nava Nanda*)

(2. class D; 1. Nos. 22-25)

8. *Candragupta Maurya*

(2. classes B. e; 1. No. 89)





## PROSODIAL PRACTICE OF SANSKRIT POETS.

H. D. VELANKAR

A. *Mahākavis* :

### INTRODUCTION

1. In this article, I have attempted to analyse and ascertain the actual metrical practice of some 28 Mahākavis (including Halāyudha and Lolimbarāja, though their works cannot rightly be called Mahākāvya) in Sanskrit literature from the ancient and medieval periods. They are arranged in an alphabetical order of their names, partly because that is easier for reference and partly because their chronological order is not very definite. The earliest among them is Aśvaghoṣa of the 2nd century A. D. and the latest is Rudrakavi (author of Rāṣṭraudhavaṁśavarṇana), who lived towards the end of the 16th century. Under each poet I have given brief information about (1) the poet himself, (2) his work or works, (3) the metres employed by him in the work or works mentioned under (2) and lastly (4) the total number of occurrences of each metre. The full metrical analysis of the poem itself is given in Appendix I under numbers which correspond to those given to the poets in the main body of the article. The information about the poets is based mainly on the following four books :—(1) A History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I by S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, Calcutta, 1947; (2) A History of Classical Sanskrit Literature by A. B. Keith, Oxford, 1928; (3) Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur by Winternitz, Dritter Band, Leipzig, 1922; and (4) A History of Classical Sanskrit Literature by M. Krishnamachariar, Madras, 1937.

2. I have generally chosen one representative work of the poet for the analysis, but sometimes I have analysed even two or more. Stenzler had metrically analysed some of these works, but on a different plan. His analysis is published at ZDMG., 44, pp. 1-82. Out of regard for this work I have borrowed my total number of occurrences of metres from this article of Stenzler. I have however, substituted the following names (in accordance with my own plan) for his original ones :—Anuṣṭubh for his Vaktra; Viyoginī and Mālabhāriṇī for his Vaitāliya and Aupacchandāsika when they have the definite form of a Varṇa Vṛtta, and lastly Upajāti for his Indravajrā. See Nos. 8, 14, 73 and 78 under his Unübersicht der Metra on pp. 74 ff. Thus in the case of the 7 poets namely, Kālidāsa, Bilhaṇa, Bhaṭṭi, Bhāravi, Māgha, Varāhamihira and Śrīhaṛṣa, I have borrowed my figures of the total occurrences from his analysis to which the reader is requested to refer for details. In the case of the remaining 21 poets the detailed analysis is given in Appendix I.

3. As my object is to examine only the intentional and conscious use of Sanskrit metres by these poets, I have not tried to investigate the proportion of the Vipulās and the Capalās as against the Pathyās in the Anuṣṭubh and Āryā stanzas

or of the *Indravajrā* and the *Upendravajrā* lines in the *Upajāti* stanzas. By its very nature, a *Mahākāvya* consists of several cantos, each of which is mostly composed in the same metre except towards the conclusion where a few stanzas in different metres are introduced for the sake of variety. Generally important topics and events are selected for a detailed poetical description in the main body of the canto, while unimportant events which form a connecting link between the two cantos are relegated to the end. Similarly, the same metre is as a rule, employed for a sustained poetical description in the main body of the canto, while different metres are used for unimportant or minor events at the end. Thus by an examination of the metrical practice of the *Mahākavis*, we expect to know which metres were used by the *Mahākavis* for a sustained narration in their cantos and which were employed by them for the sake of variation. In this behalf, I am appending below in Appendix II, 3 Lists, namely, (1) A chronological List of the 28 *Mahākavis* with their poems and dates, the number of stanzas and cantos, as well as metres employed by them; (2) an alphabetical List of metres employed by the *Mahākavis* for a continued narration in a canto, with the names of the *Mahākavis* who employ them, the total number of cantos in which they are used being indicated by figures immediately after the names; and (3) an alphabetical List of all metres employed by these 28 *Mahākavis*, whether for a continued narration or for mere variation, with their definitions and the total number of their occurrences given after each name.

4. It will be interesting to note from the second List that the *Anuṣṭubh*, *Upajāti* and *Varṇasāstha* are the commonest among the metres that were used for a continued narration in the body of a canto, being employed respectively by 23, 21 and 17 poets out of the 28. These three are the earliest among the Classical Sanskrit metres and are the direct descendants of the Vedic *Anuṣṭubh*, *Triṣṭubh* and *Jagatī* metres. The other metres which are used by more than 10 poets for the same purpose, the practice being started by *Kālidāsa* (except in the case of *Viyoginī* and *Mālabhārīṇī* which were first employed by *Aśvaghoṣa*), are:—1 *Rathoddhātā* (14 poets); 2 *Vasanta-tilaka* (13 poets); 3 *Viyoginī* (12 poets); 4 *Mālabhārīṇī* (11 poets) and 5 *Drutavilambitā* (11 poets). All these are *Sama Vṛttas* except *Viyoginī* and *Mālabhārīṇī* which are *Ardhasama* ones and have at their bases the *Mātrā Vṛttas* namely, the *Vaitāliya* and the *Aupacchandāsika*. An ancient *Viśama Vṛtta* which is employed by 7 poets for their cantos is *Udgatā*. *Aśvaghoṣa* was the first and *Maṅkha* was the last to use it for this purpose. The following are the metres which were used for a canto first by *Bhāravi* and then by his successors:—*Puṣpitāgrā* (10 poets); *Pramitākṣarā* (8 poets); *Praharṣinī* (8 poets) and *Svāgatā* (10 poets). Those that were first employed by *Māgha* and then by others are *Mañjubhāṣinī* (5 poets); *Mālinī* (5 poets); *Rucirā* (4 poets); and *Śālinī* (4 poets). *Śivasvāmin* started the use of *Mattamayūra* for a canto and was followed by *Dhanañjaya*. The use of the other metres for a canto dates from after *Dhanañjaya* i. e., roughly after 1000 A.D.

5. This article will be followed by another in which the prosodial practice of the *Khaṇḍa Kavis* and the *Nāṭaka Kavis* will be analysed. That will give a pretty



clear and correct idea about the extent and nature of the Sanskrit metres which were actually in vogue in the ancient and medieval periods of Sanskrit literature. As regards the theory, a work called *Jayadāman* is recently brought out by the Haritosha Samiti of Bombay, where I have prepared a Classified List of Classical Sanskrit metres based on ten old treatises on Sanskrit metres. This List contains about 800 metres of which over 600 are Varna Vṛttas of the Sama Catuspadī type distributed over 30 heads according as they contain 1 to 45 letters in each line. It contains 33 Daṇḍakas, 50 Ardhasama Catuspadis, 36 Viśama Catuspadis and 42 Mātrā Vṛttas. From a reference to our third List below, it will be seen that out of the 600 Varna Vṛtta Sama Catuspadis only about a hundred were in actual use of the poets. Out of this hundred again, only about 25 were employed with frequency, while the rest were used only for a change and ornamentation. Of the Mātrā Vṛttas the Mahākavis use only about 8 and they are mostly the derivatives of the Āryā. Dobā which is a pure ancient Apabhraṁśa metre, is employed in its Sanskrit garb by Maṅkha alone and that too for a short Stotra of 12 stanzas. Mātrāsamaka, originally a Prakrit metre is similarly used in its Sanskrit garb only for 2 stanzas by Śivasvāmin. The Mahākavis also use only one Viśama Vṛtta namely the Udgatā, 3 Ardhasama Vṛttas namely, the Viyoginī, the Mālabhāriṇī and the Puṣpitāgrā and two Mātrā Vṛttas of the mixed type, namely the Vaitāliya and the Aupacchandasika.

[For definitions of metres see Appendix II, List No. 3]

1. *Amaracandra* (13th century; middle).

THE AUTHOR: Amaracandra was a Jain monk, pupil of Jinadattasūri of the Vāyāḍa Gaccha. He was a voluminous writer and lived during the reign of King Viśaladeva of Ahnīlavat (A. D. 1243 to 1261). Kāvyaakalpalatā, Padmānandakāvya and Bālabhārata are his important works.

THE WORK: I have chosen Bālabhārata alone for analysis. It is a Mahākāvya on the theme of the Mahābhārata, as its name suggests. It contains 19 Sargas in imitation of the 18 Parvans of the original epic together with the Harivaṁśa. The total number of stanzas in it is 5482. Published in the Kāvyaamālā, No. 45, Bombay, 1894. For the author, see Dasgupta, p. 331; Keith, p. 137.

METRES: The author employs 23 metres in all, in this poem. The following metres are used for a continued narration in the cantos:—Anuṣṭubh (14 times); Āryā (once); Upajāti (13 times); Drutavilambita (once); Pramitākṣarā (once); Mañjubhāṣiṇī (once); Mālinī (once); Rathoddhatā (thrice); Lalitā (once); Vaṁśastha (once); Vasantatilaka (twice); Viyoginī (twice); and Svāgatā (4 times).

Occurrences: Anuṣṭubh 2292; Āryā 64; Utthāpanī 3; Upajāti 1265; Drutavilambita 56; Puṣpitāgrā 7; Pṛthvī 3; Pramitākṣarā 95; Praharsinī 12; Mañjubhāṣiṇī 124; Mandākrāntā 11; Mālabhāriṇī 13; Mālinī 65; Rathoddhatā 298; Lalitā 156; Vaṁśastha 93; Vasantatilaka 251; Viyoginī 216; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 79; Śālinī 3; Śikharinī 17; Sragdharā 18; Svāgatā 341. Total 5482.

2. *Aśvaghoṣa* (2nd century A. D.)

**THE AUTHOR:** Aśvaghoṣa is the celebrated Buddhist author who lived in the 2nd century A. D. He is the author of two poems on the life of Gautama Buddha. Besides these he is also known to have written three dramas, only broken pieces of the manuscripts of which have been recovered.

**THE WORK:** Buddhacarita originally contained 28 cantos of which only 14 are now available in Sanskrit. It is critically edited (and translated into English) by E. H. Johnston, Calcutta, 1936 (Punjab Uni. Or. Pub. Nos. 31-32). The total number of stanzas in the 14 cantos is 1033. Saundarananda, the other poem, contains 18 cantos and a total of 1063 stanzas. It is critically edited (and translated into English) by E. H. Johnston, Oxford University Press, 1928; 1932. I have analysed both these poems. For information, see Dasgupta, p. 73; Keith, pp. 56-59.

**METRES:** In the Buddhacarita, Aśvaghoṣa employs 9 metres in all, while in the Saundarananda he uses 11 more not used in the former. None of these except Vaitāliya is a Mātrā Vṛtta. For the composition of a canto he uses Anuṣṭubh 11 times (B2; S9); Upajāti 16 times (B8; S8), Vamśastha twice (once in each), Mālabhārīṇī once (in B), Viyoginī and Udgatā once each (in S). Udgatā is a Viṣama Vṛtta used here for the first time, for continued narration.

**OCCURRENCES:** Anuṣṭubh 681 (B. 297, S. 384); Aparavaktra S. 1; Udgatā S. 41; Upajāti 951 (B. 492, S. 459); Kusumitalatāvellitā S. 1; Puṣpitāgrā 31 (B. 26, S. 5); Praharṣiṇī 7 (B. 3, S. 4); Mālabhārīṇī B. 78; Mālinī B. 2; Rucirā 4 (B. 3, S. 1); Vamśastha 201 (B. 123, S. 78); Vardhamāna S. 2; Vasantatilaka S. 10; Viyoginī S. 56; Vaitāliya S. 1; Śarabhalalita S. 2; Śārdūlavikrīḍita S. 6; Śikhariṇī 11 (B. 1, S. 10); Suvadanā S. 1; Sragdharā S. 1. Total 1033+1063=2096.

3. *Kavirāja* (12th century, 2nd half).

**THE AUTHOR:** Kavirāja lived at the court of King Kāmadeva II of the Kadamba family, who ruled between 1182 and 1197 A. D. His real name was Mādhavabhaṭṭa. In point of Vakrokti, he compares himself with Subandhu and Bāṇa. See Dasgupta, pp. 340, 619; Keith, p. 137.

**THE WORK:** Rāghava-pāṇḍavīya is a poem in 13 cantos with a double application to the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. It is naturally full of Śleṣa and is written in a very artificial style. It is published in the Kāvya-mālā No. 62, Bombay, 1897. The total number of stanzas is 668.

**METRES:** Owing to the very nature of the poem, Kavirāja does not use any metre continuously for the composition of cantos, though he employs Anuṣṭubh (for 22 stanzas), Upajāti (for 14), Rathoddhatā (for 14), and Rucirā (for 11) in a continuous narration, only once each. Otherwise he hardly employs the same metre for more than 5 stanzas at a time. He uses 22 metres in all, of which Anuṣṭubh and Upajāti seem to be his favourites.

OCCURRENCES: Anuṣṭubh 109; Aparavaktra 1; Upajāti 284; Drutavilambita 5; Puṣpitāgrā 4½; Pṛthvī 3; Pramitākṣarā 1; Praharsinī 12; Mañjubhāṣinī 1; Mandākrāntā 21; Mālabbhāriṇī 15; Mālinī 45; Rathoddhatā 27; Rucirā 25; Vamśastha 40; Vasantatilaka 12; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 27; Śālinī 6; Śikharinī 3; Sragdharā 25; Svāgatā 1; Hariṇī 1. Total 668.

4. *Kālidāsa (4th century, 1st half).*

THE AUTHOR: Kālidāsa is the greatest Sanskrit poet. His date is uncertain. But the general consensus of opinion is in favour of placing him in the 4th century A.D. and making him a contemporary of Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty, who had assumed the title of Vikramāditya and ruled at Ujjayini between 375 and 413 A.D. See Dasgupta, p. 124; Keith, p. 79-98.

THE WORK: Kālidāsa known is to have written 2 Mahākāvya and 2 Khaṇḍakāvya in addition to the 3 dramas. I am taking only the Mahākāvya for analysis. Raghuvamśa contains 19 cantos, while Kumārasambhava has 17 only. of which the last ten are sometimes supposed to be written by another poet. Both are repeatedly published at the Nirnaya Sagar Press and elsewhere.

METRES: Raghu has 16 different metres, while the Kumāra and Rtu have 13 and 5 respectively. Kālidāsa employs the following metres for the composition of a canto:—Anuṣṭubh 10 times (R.6, K.4); Upajāti 15 times (R.8, K.7); Drutavilambita once (R.1); Rathoddhatā 3 times (R.2, K.1); Vamśastha 4 times (R.1, K.3); Vasantatilaka once (K.1), and Viyoginī twice (R.1, K.1). In R. Vasantatilaka is continuously employed for at least 10 stanzas on 3 occasions; in K. it is employed for a whole canto. His use of Viyoginī is imitated by later poets for pathetic descriptions, and of Drutavilambita for seasonal enjoyments.

OCCURRENCES: The figures given below are from Stenzler, ZDMG., 44, pp.22-24, 33. Anuṣṭubh 813 (R.549, K.264); Upajāti 1023 (R.574, K.449); Totaka R.1; Drutavilambita 56 (R.54, K.2); Puṣpitāgrā 8 (R.4, K.4); Praharsinī R.6; Mañjubhāṣinī R.1; Mālabbhāriṇī K.2; Mālinī 11 (R.2, K.9); Mahāmālikā R.1; Rathoddhatā 238 (R.147, K.91); Vamśastha 254 (R.69, K.185); Vasantatilaka 102 (R.44, K.58); Viyoginī 134 (R.90, K.44); Śārdūlavikrīḍita K.1; Śālinī R.1; Svāgatā 2 (R.1, K.1); Hariṇī 4 (R.1, K.3). Total 2658.

5. *Kumāradāsa (8th century, 2nd half).*

THE AUTHOR: Kumāradāsa is generally believed to be a king of Ceylon and son of Maudgalāyana. He is a great admirer of Kālidāsa and his fame had already widely spread in the 10th century A.D. Nandargikar and Keith assign him to the close of the 8th century. See Dasgupta, pp.185, 621; Keith, pp.119-123.

THE WORK: His Mahākāvya, Jānakīharana consists of 15 cantos, of which the first 10 are edited in Devanagari characters by Nandargikar, Bombay, 1907. The whole poem is said to contain 1064 stanzas; but my analysis is based upon 764 stanzas, which is the total of the first 10 cantos which I have analysed.



**METRES:** Kumāradāsa uses 15 different metres in this poem. Of these he employs the following for a continued narration in cantos:—Anuṣṭubh thrice (2,6,10); Upajāti thrice (1,3,7); Drutavilambita once (11); Pramitākṣarā once (13), the last two as given by Keith, p. 124; Rathoddhatā once (8); Vamśastha thrice (5, 9, 12); and Viyoginī once (4).

**OCCURRENCES:** Anuṣṭubh 212; Upajāti 211; Narkuṭaka 6; Puṣpitāgrā 12; Prabhāṣiṇī 4; Mālinī 2; Rathoddhatā 92; Vamśastha 133; Vasantatilaka 10; Viyoginī 69; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 8; Śikhariṇī 2; Sragdharā 3; Total 764. Avitatha and Mandākrāntā as given by Keith, p. 124.

#### 6. Kṛṣṇānanda (13th century).

**THE AUTHOR:** Kṛṣṇānanda was a Kāyastha of the Kapiṇjala family and a Mahāpātra to a king of Puri. He is quoted in Viśvanātha's Sāhityadarpaṇa and probably lived in the 13th century. He is known to have written a commentary on Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhacarita in addition to his own Māhākāvya, namely Sabhṛdayānanda, on the Nala episode. See Dasgupta, pp. 331, 626; Winternitz, III. p. 77.

**THE WORK:** Sabhṛdayānanda contains 15 cantos and a total of 944 stanzas composed in 21 different metres. It was first published in the Kāvya-mālā, No. 32, Bombay, 1892. I have used the 3rd edition of 1930 for my analysis.

**METRES:** Out of the 21 metres, 12 occur less than 10 times each. The following are used for a continuous narration in cantos: Anuṣṭubh once; Upajāti four times; Drutavilambita twice; Mālabhāriṇī once; Rathoddhatā once; Vamśastha thrice; Vasantatilaka twice; and Viyoginī only once. Both Mālabhāriṇī and Viyoginī are Ardhasama Varṇa Vṛttas.

**OCCURRENCES:** Anuṣṭubh 80; Upajāti 275; Drutavilambita 73; Puṣpitāgrā 6; Pṛthvī 2; Prabhāṣiṇī 4; Mañjubhāṣiṇī 5; Mattamayūra 1; Mandākrāntā 5; Mālabhāriṇī 64; Mālinī 9; Rathoddhatā 35; Rucirā 1; Vamśastha 182; Vasantatilaka 116; Viyoginī 57; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 18; Śālinī 5; Śikhariṇī 1; Sragdharā 3; Hariṇī 2. Total 944.

#### 7. Kṣemendra (11th century, 2nd half).

**THE AUTHOR:** Kṣemendra is a voluminous and popular writer from Kashmir, who has written almost on every branch of Sanskrit literature. Kṣemendra was surnamed Vyāsadāsa and was the son of Prakāśendra. He wrote during the reigns of Kings Ananta and his successor Kalāśa of Kashmir and so his literary activity falls in the middle and the second half of the 11th century. See Dasgupta, p. 404; Keith, p. 238; Winternitz, III. pp. 53, 73, 152.

**THE WORK:** I have analysed only 2 of his works which contain a variety of metres by the very nature of their contents. These are Samayamātrkā and Daśāvatāracarita. The former was composed in 1050 and the latter in 1066 A. D. Samayamātrkā has 8 chapters and contains 638 stanzas, while Daśāvatāracarita has

10 chapters and contains 1759 stanzas in all. They were published respectively in *Kāvya-mālā*, Nos. 10 and 26, Bombay 1888 and 1891.

**METRES:** In these two works together Kṣemendra employs 16 different metres. Naturally, Anuṣṭubh is the most predominant one. Next to it are Upajāti and Śārdūlavikrīḍita. As a rule Kṣemendra does not use the same metre continuously for more than 5 stanzas at a stretch the exceptions being of course, Anuṣṭubh and Upajāti. But even here, he does not use the former for more than 30 stanzas at a time and the latter for more than 20. Variety is clearly his motto, like that of the Khaṇḍakavis.

**OCCURRENCES:** Anuṣṭubh 1456 (S. 363, D. 1093); Āryā S. 115; Udgīti S. 1; Upajāti 437 (S. 63, D. 374); Gīti S. 14; Dodhaka S. 1; Drutavilambita S. 2; Prthvī 2 (S. 1, D. 1); Mandākrāntā 24 (S. 7, D. 17); Mālinī 24 (S. 4, D. 20); Vamśastha D. 24; Vasantatilaka 78 (S. 27, D. 51); Śārdūlavikrīḍita 143 (S. 29, D. 114); Śikhariṇī 28 (S. 2, D. 26); Sragdharā 32 (S. 6, D. 26); Hariṇī 16 (S. 3, D. 13). Total (S. 638+D. 1759). 2397.

#### 8. *Dhanañjaya* (10th century).

**THE AUTHOR:** Dhanañjaya, a Jain monk of the Digambara sect, is generally identified with one Śrutakīrti who is mentioned as the author of a *Rāghava-pāṇḍaviya Kāvya* by Abhinava Pampa in the 1st half of the 12th century. This Śrutakīrti Dhanañjaya is supposed to have lived sometime between 1123 and 1140 A. D. See JBBRAS., 1904, p. 1 ff.; Keith, p. 137; Winternitz, III. p. 75. But neither the identification nor the date is likely. For, Dhanañjaya and his Dvisandhāna, which is another name of the *Rāghava-pāṇḍaviya*, are mentioned in Vādirāja's *Pārśvanātha Purāṇa* which was composed in 1025 A. D. Similarly in Jalhana's *Sūktimuktāvalī* a quotation from Rājaśekhara is given in which Dhanañjaya and his Dvisandhāna are mentioned. See JBBRAS., 1928, p. 135 ff., and Krishnamachariar History, p. 169.

**THE WORK:** The Dvisandhāna or the *Rāghavapāṇḍaviya* is a very artificial poem being doubly applicable to the stories of the two epics. It contains 18 cantos and a total of 1106 stanzas. At I. 49 Yati and Chandobhaṅgas are strongly denounced. Another work of the author is *Nāma-mālā* in which he mentions himself along with Akalaṅka and Pūjyapāda. The poem is published in the *Kāvya-mālā*, No. 49, Bombay, 1895.

**METRES:** Dhanañjaya employs 31 different metres, of which 15 occur less than 10 times each and 10, less than 5 times each. When compared with Kavirāja (see above No. 3), Dhanañjaya is a more sustained versifier and can have a successful double application in the same metre when continuously employed for the composition of a canto. Yet, Kavirāja excels Dhanañjaya in sheer artificiality and Śleṣa. Dhanañjaya uses Anuṣṭubh thrice, Udgatā once, Upajāti thrice, Puṣpitāgrā, Pramitākṣarā, Praharsinī, Mattamayūra, Rucirā and Viyoginī once each and Vamśastha

twice, continuously for the composition of a canto. He uses Viyoginī for the pathetic description of the Vanavāsa-gamana in canto 4.

OCCURRENCES: Anuṣṭubh 288; Aparavaktra 14; Indravamśā 1; Udgatā 39; Upajāti 247; Jaladharamālā 5; Jaloddhatagati 1; Toṭaka 2; Drutavilambita 8; Puṣpitaḡrā 38; Pṛthvī 1; Pramitākṣarā 51; Pramuditavadanā 2; Praharsinī 29; Mattamayūra 34; Mandākrāntā 2; Mālabhāriṇī 8; Mālinī 5; Mauktikamālā 4; Rathoddhatā 23; Rucirā 29; Vamśapatrapatita 1; Vamśastha 104; Vasantatilaka 24; Viyoginī 57; Vaiśvadevī 1; Śārdūlavikriḡḡita 4; Śālinī 46; Śikhariṇī 7; Svāgatā 24; Hariṇī 7. Total 1106.

9. *Padmagupta (11th century, 1st half).*

THE AUTHOR: Padmagupta, also known as Parimala, son of Mṛgāṅkadatta, composed the poem Navasāhasāṅkacarita for the glorification of his patron King Sindhurāja Navasāhasāṅka, younger brother and successor of the famous king Muṅja of Dhārā, who ruled in Malva towards the close of the 10th century A. D. This poem is quoted by Ruyyaka, and may have been composed about 1005 A. D. See Dasgupta, p. 349; Winternitz, III. p. 84.

THE WORK: Navasāhasāṅkacarita contains 18 cantos and a total of 1535 stanzas. It is published in the B. S. Series, No. 53, Bombay, 1898. Its theme is a semi-mythical legend of the hero's marriage with Śāsiṣrabhā who is represented as a Nāgakanyā: yet historical facts are skilfully woven in the story here and there.

METRES: The poet uses 19 metres in all, out of which 9 occur less than 5 times each. The following are employed for the composition of a canto: Anuṣṭubh 4 times; Udgatā once; Upajāti 4 times; Puṣpitaḡrā once; Mañjubhāṣinī once; Mālabhāriṇī once; Rathoddhatā once; Vamśastha thrice; Vasantatilaka once and Viyoginī once.

OCCURRENCES: Anuṣṭubh 454; Udgatā 69; Upajāti 316; Puṣpitaḡrā 78; Praharsinī 1; Mañjubhāṣinī 64; Mandākrāntā 3; Mahāmālikā 1; Mālabhāriṇī 81; Mālinī 3; Rathoddhatā 80; Vamśastha 201; Vasantatilaka 95; Viyoginī 78; Śārdūlavikriḡḡita 3; Śālinī 1; Śikhariṇī 1; Sragdharā 2; Hariṇī 4. Total 1535.

10. *Bālacandrasūri (13th century, 2nd half).*

THE AUTHOR: Bālacandrasūri was the pupil of Haribhadrāsūri of the Candra Gaccha. He was a Jain monk patronized and respected by Vastupāla, the prime minister of King Viradhavala of Dholka. He composed the poem Vasantavilāsa to glorify this minister at the request of the latter's son Jaitrasinha, but after his death, i.e., after 1240 A.D. Another work of the author is a drama called Karuṇā-vajrāyudha. See Dasgupta, pp. 363, 769-770.

THE WORK: The Vasantavilāsa Kāvya contains 14 cantos and a total of 1007 stanzas. It is published in the Gaek. O. Series, No. VII, Baroda, 1917.



**METRES:** Bālacandra employs 25 different metres, 4 among them are Mātrā Vṛttas, namely Gīti, Pādākulaka, Mālādhruvaka and Vidyādharaḥāsa, the last being an Ardhasama metre. Besides Upajāti, which is a mixture of Indravajrā and Upendra-vajrā, our author uses Vamśamālā, which is a similar mixture of Indravamśā and Vamśastha. The following are used for the composition of a canto: Anuṣṭubh once; Upajāti 4 times; Drutavilambita once; Rathoddhatā twice; Vamśamālā once; Vamśastha once; Śārdūlavikrīḍita once; and Svāgatā once. But, for a continued narration extending over from 11 to 26 stanzas he has also used Puṣpitaḡrā, Pṛthvi and Pramitākṣarā.

**OCCURRENCES:** Anuṣṭubh 52; Upajāti 313; Gīti 1; Toṭaka 1; Drutavilambita 70; Pādākulaka 2; Puṣpitaḡrā 24; Pṛthvī 15; Pramitākṣarā 27; Prahar-sinī 2; Mandākrāntā 1; Mālabbhāriṇī 1; Mālādhruvaka 1; Mālīnī 5; Rathoddhatā 160; Vamśamālā 76; Vamśastha 68; Vasantatilaka 15; Vidyādharaḥāsa 1; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 69; Śālinī 2; Sragdharā 3; Sragvinī 1; Svāgatā 96; Hariṇī 1. Total 1007.

#### 11. *Bilhaṇa (11th century 2nd half).*

**THE AUTHOR:** Bilhaṇa, son of Jyeṣṭhakalaśa of Kashmir, lived in the latter half of the 11th century A. D. He left Kashmir about 1065 and wandered from place to place, finally settling down at the court of King Vikramāditya VI of the Western Chalukya dynasty of Kalyan. It is in honour of this king that Bilhaṇa wrote his semi-historical poem Vikramāṅkadevacarita sometime between 1081 and 1089. He also composed his drama called Karnaṣundarī to honour King Karnaḍeva of Anhilvad, where he had sojourned for a while in his wanderings. See Dasgupta, pp. 350 and 471; Keith, p. 153; Winternitz, III, pp. 52, 53, 250.

**THE WORK:** Vikramāṅkadevacarita contains 18 cantos and a total of 1651 stanzas. It is edited by Buhler in the B. S. Series, Bombay, 1875. Recently it is critically and more carefully edited by Bihari Lal, Benares, 1945 (Prince of Wales Sarasvatī Bhavan Series, No. 82).

**METRES:** The predominant metres in the poem used for a continuous narration in the cantos are Anuṣṭubh twice, Upajāti 6 times, Rathoddhatā twice; Mandākrāntā once; Puṣpitaḡrā once, Vamśastha thrice; Viyoginī once and Svāgatā once. 16 metres in all are used in the poem, of which 5 are employed less than 7 times.

**OCCURRENCES:** The figures are borrowed from Stenzler, ZDMG, 44, p. 70. Anuṣṭubh 214; Upajāti 582; Puṣpitaḡrā 99; Pṛthvī 1; Mandākrāntā 102; Mālabbhāriṇī 2; Mālīnī 16; Rathoddhatā 154; Vamśastha 236; Vasantatilaka 32; Viyoginī 84; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 43; Śikhariṇī 2; Sragdharā 7; Svāgatā 72; Hariṇī 5. Total 1651.

#### 12. *Buddhaghōṣa (5th century).*

**THE AUTHOR:** Buddhaghōṣa is the author of a poem called Padyacūdāmaṇi on the life of Gautama Buddha. Though it is difficult to say whether this Buddhaghōṣa is identical with the famous Pāli writer, yet he seems to be a pretty early writer probably of the 5th century A. D. or so. See Dasgupta, p. 345; Keith, p. 143.

**THE WORK:** Padyacūḍāmaṇi contains 10 cantos and a total of 641 stanzas. It is edited by Ranga Acarya and S. Kuppusvami Sastri, Madras, 1921. Padyacūḍāmaṇi imitates both Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa.

**METRES:** Only 12 different meters are employed in the Padyacūḍāmaṇi. Upajāti seems to be the favourite metre of our poet. The following metres are used for a continued narration in the composition of a canto: Anuṣṭubh once; Upajāti 5 times; Vasantatilaka thrice; Vamśastha once. The remaining 8 metres are all of them used for less than 5 times each.

**OCCURRENCES:** Anuṣṭubh 82; Upajāti 346; Puṣpitāgrā 1; Mandākrāntā 1; Mālabhāriṇī 3; Mālinī 3; Rathoddhatā 1; Vamśastha 67; Vasantatilaka 133; Viyoginī 1; Śārdulavikrīḍita 1; Śālinī 2. Total 641.

### 13. Bhaṭṭi (7th century, 1st half).

**THE AUTHOR:** Bhaṭṭi was probably the first author who used a poem to illustrate the rules of grammar. He wrote under King Śrīdharasena of Valabhī as he himself tells us at the end of the poem. Out of the 4 kings of that name, the last one died in A. D. 641. Bhaṭṭi is a Prakritized form of the Sanskrit name Bharṭṛ and on that account Bhaṭṭi is sometimes identified with Bharṭṛhari, the celebrated grammarian. But this is doubtful, though Bhaṭṭi can be definitely said to be earlier than Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. He was imitated by Māgha and it would not be far from truth if we place him in the 7th century. See Dasgupta, pp. 529, 616; Keith, p. 116.

**THE WORK:** Bhaṭṭikāvya, or Rāvaṇavadha, is a poem on the life of Rāma the epic hero, in 22 cantos. The poem illustrates at the same time rules of Paṇini's grammar and the figures of speech. It contains a total of 1625 stanzas. It is edited with the commentary Jayamaṅgalā at Bombay, 1887, and with that of Mallinātha in the B. S. Series, Bombay, 1898.

**METRES:** Bhaṭṭi employs 23 different metres, nearly 14 of which are not used for more than 5 times each. He is probably the earliest poet to use the Āryāgīti or the Skandhaka for the composition of a canto in Sanskrit. The most predominant metre is of course the Anuṣṭubh which is used for the composition of 15 cantos. Other metres similarly used are Upajāti for 4 cantos and Āryāgīti (or Skandhaka) for 1. In canto 10, Puṣpitāgrā is twice used continuously for 10 and 15 stanzas. At 22.53 an unknown metre (bha-bha-ra-ya) is used, whereas at 21.21 a Nardāṭaka seems to be used, but a short letter is wanting in lines 1 and 4 at the 13th and the 9th places respectively.

**OCCURRENCES:** The following figures are borrowed from Stenzler, ZDMG. 44. p. 26. Anuṣṭubh 1206; Aśvalalita 1; Āryā 2; Āryāgīti (or Skandhaka) 47; Upajāti 271; Tanumadhya 2; Toṭaka 3; Drutavilambita 5; Nandana 1; Puṣpitāgrā 35; Prthvī 1; Pramitākṣarā 4; Praharāṇakalikā 2; Prabarṣinī 9; Mandākrāntā 2; Mālabhāriṇī 7; Mālinī 9; Rucirā 1; Vamśastha 6; Viyoginī 6; Śārdulavikrīḍita 2; Śragdharā 1. Total 1625.

14. *Bhāravi* (6th century, 1st half).

**THE AUTHOR:** Bhāravi who ranks 2nd in magnitude among great poets, is mentioned in an Inscription dated A.D. 634 and is also quoted in the *Kāśikā Vṛtti* of Jayāpīḍa and Vāmana. So he must be assigned to the 6th century A.D. at the latest. He is manifestly influenced by Kālidāsa and is clearly imitated by Māgha. Bāṇa is silent about him, but this is not very helpful in fixing the date of Bhāravi. See Dasgupta, p. 177; Keith, p. 109; Winternitz, III. p. 66.

**THE WORK:** *Kirātārjunīya* has for its main theme the duel between the Pāṇḍava Arjuna and Kirāta who is none else than Lord Śiva himself. The topic is from the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata and is elaborated with great artistic skill by the poet in 18 cantos. The total number of stanzas in the poem is 1041.

**METRES:** Bhāravi employs 24 metres in all, of which 7 are used only once each. In canto 5 alone, he uses 16 different metres merely for the sake of variety. Viyoginī is employed in canto 2, for deliberation and counsel. He is the 2nd poet (after Aśvaghoṣa who is the 1st) to employ the Viṣama Vṛtta Udgatā for continued narration in the composition of a canto. Other metres used for the same purpose are : Anuṣṭubh twice; Upajāti thrice; Puṣpītāgrā once; Pramitākṣarā once; Prabarṣiṇī once; Mālabhāriṇī once; Rathoddhatā once; Varṇasastha 4 times; and Svāgatā once. He employs Drutavilambita for 12 and 16 stanzas at a stretch in cantos 12 and 5 respectively. He thus employs 11 metres in all for the composition of a canto; while Māgha uses 17 for the same purpose.

**OCCURRENCES:** The figures are borrowed from Stenzler, ZDMG., 44. p. 25. Anuṣṭubh 125; Aparavaktra 1; Udgatā 54; Upajāti 176; Kṣamā 1; Jaladharamālā 1; Jaloddhatagati 1; Drutavilambita 33; Puṣpītāgrā 69; Prabhā 6; Pramitākṣarā 51; Prabarṣiṇī 50; Mattamayūra 1; Madhyakṣamā 1; Mālabhāriṇī 36; Mālinī 13; Rathoddhatā 38; Varṇasastha 214; Vasantatilaka 24; Viyoginī 62; Śālinī 3; Śikharinī 3; Svāgatā 77. Total 1041.

15. *Bhaumaka* (7th century, 1st half).

**THE AUTHOR:** Bhaṭṭa Bhaumaka or Bhūma was a Kashmirian poet, who along with Bhaṭṭi is mentioned as an author of a Kāvyaśāstra, i.e. a Kāvya which at the same time serves the purpose of a Śāstra, by Kṣemendra in his *Suvṛttatilaka*. His poem *Rāvaṇārjunīya* is quoted in the *Kāśikā*, like the Bhaṭṭikāvya. Bhaumaka therefore is to be ascribed to the 1st half of the 7th century. See Dasgupta, p. 336; Keith, p. 133; Winternitz, III. p. 72.

**THE WORK:** *Rāvaṇārjunīya* is a poem which describes the fight between Kārtavīrya Arjuna and Rāvaṇa, when the latter was defeated. The main aim of this artificial poem is however, to illustrate the rules of Pāṇini's grammar in a serial manner. It contains 27 cantos and a total of 1545 stanzas. It is published in the *Kāvyamālā*, No. 68, Bombay, 1900.



**METRES:** Like Kavirāja, Bhaumaka too does not use any metre except the Anuṣṭubh continuously for the composition of a canto. He however employs Upajāti and Vamśastha for a continued narration from 4 to 36 stanzas at a stretch in the former case and from 4 to 16 stanzas in the latter. In all, 26 different metres are used by Bhaumaka, out of which 11 are used for less than 5 times each. He employs Vaitāliya and Aupacchandāsika metres both in their forms of a Mātrā Vṛtta and a Varṇa Vṛtta (i.e., as Viyoginī and Mālabhāriṇī respectively). He employs some irregular Mātrā or Varṇa Vṛtta in about 70 stanzas.

**OCCURRENCES:** Anuṣṭubh 339; Aparavaktra 1; Indravamśā 3; Upajāti 730; Aupacchandāsika 69; Drutavilambita 7; Puṇḍarika (ma-bha-ra-ya) 4; Puṣpitaḡrā 21; Pṛthvī 1; Pramitākṣarā 2; Praharsinī 14; Bhramaravilasita 1; Mañjubhāsinī 1; Mālabhāriṇī 55; Mālinī 16; Rathoddhatā 25; Rukmavati 1; Rucirā 1; Vamśastha 102; Vasantatilaka 25; Viyoginī 12; Vaitāliya 3; Vaiśvadevī 5; Śālinī 23; Śikharinī 1; Svāgatā 14; Irregular 69. Total 1545.

16. *Mañkha* (12th century, 1st half).

**THE AUTHOR:** Mañkha lived in Kashmir during the reign of King Jayasimha (A. D. 1128 to 1149). Mañkha's brother Lañkha was a minister of King Jayasimha. Mañkha mentions Ruyyaka as his Guru and seems to have collaborated with him in his *Alaṃkārasarvasva*. See Dasgupta, p. 322; Keith, p. 136; Winternitz, III, pp. 22 (note), 78, 413. Another work of Mañkha is the *Anekārthakośa* with commentary.

**THE WORK:** Śrīkaṇṭhacarita is a Mahākāvya in 25 cantos describing the overthrow of the demon Tripura by Lord Śiva. The last canto contains some interesting historical details about men and events of the author's own times. The total number of stanzas is 1648. It is published in the *Kāvyamālā*, No. 3, Bombay, 1887.

**METRES:** Mañkha employs 24 different metres, of which the following are used for continued narration in cantos: Anuṣṭubh twice; Udgatā once; Aparavaktra once; Upajāti 4 times; Puṣpitaḡrā once; Pramitākṣarā once; Praharsinī once; Mañjubhāsinī once; Mandākrantā once; Mālabhāriṇī once; Rathoddhatā twice; Vamśastha twice and Vasantatilaka 3 times. In canto 12 he uses Viyoginī for the pathetic description in vv. 13-24. He is probably the first poet who has used the Dohā (Sk. Dvipathaka) for a Stotra in canto 12, vv. 74-86. Śārdūlavikṛīḍita and after it Sragdharā seem to be the favourite metres of Mañkha; he however, uses them for the sake of variety and not for a continuous narration.

**OCCURRENCES:** Anuṣṭubh 203; Aparavaktra 36; Āryā 3; Udgatā 45; Upajāti 224; Dvipathaka (Dohā) 13; Puṣpitaḡrā 64; Pṛthvī 6; Pramitākṣarā 41; Praharsinī 59; Mañjubhāsinī 57; Mandākrantā 72; Mālabhāriṇī 58; Mālinī 21; Rathoddhatā 86; Rucirā 1; Vamśastha 122; Vasantatilaka 249; Viyoginī 13; Śārdūlavikṛīḍita 155; Śikharinī 19; Sragdharā 55; Svāgatā 36; Harinī 11. Total 1648.

17. *Māgha (7th century, end).*

**THE AUTHOR:** According to the author's own account, Māgha was the son of a rich man and lived independently. His grandfather Suprabhaddeva was the prime minister of a king called Varmalāta, who is generally identified with a king of that name mentioned in an Inscription dated 626 A. D. His native place was Śrīmāla which is situated not very far away from Mount Abu in Gujarat. He imitated Bhāravi and very likely knew the Kāśikā Vṛtti and also perhaps its commentary called Nyāsa by Jinedrabuddhi. He is quoted by Vāmana at the end of the 8th century A. D. See Dasgupta, p. 188; Keith, pp. 124-131; Winternitz, III, p. 50.

**THE WORK:** Śiśupālavadha is a Mahākāvya in 20 cantos containing a total of 1677 stanzas. The theme of the poem is borrowed from the Mahābhārata. It is the overthrow of Śiśupāla, king of Cedi, by the divine friend of the Pāṇavas, Śrīkrṣṇa. The poem is edited with Vallabhadeva's commentary (also of Mallinātha) in the Kashi Sk. Series, No. 69, 1929; also at the NSP., Bombay, 1927 (9th edition).

**METRES:** Māgha uses 41 different metres in this poem; but 20 of these are employed only once each for the sake of sheer variety. Four more are used for less than 5 times each. For a continued narration in a canto, he employs Anuṣṭubh and Vamśastha twice each; and the following 15, once each: Udgatā, Upajāti, Drutavilambitā, Puṣpitāgrā, Pramitākṣarā, Praharṣiṇī, Mañjubhāṣiṇī, Mālabbhāriṇī, Mālinī, Rathoddhatā, Rucirā, Vasantatilaka, Viyoginī, Śālinī and Svāgatā.

**OCCURRENCES:** These are borrowed from Stenzler, ZDMG., 44, p. 28. Anuṣṭubh 232; Āryāgīti (Skandhaka) 2; Utsara 1; Udgatā 128; Upajāti 108; Kuṭaja 1; Citralekhā 1; Jaladharamālā 1; Jaloddhatagati 1; Totaka 1; Dodhaka 1; Drutavilambita 71; Dhṛtaśī 1; Puṣpitāgrā 78; Pṛthvī 1; Prabdhā 1; Pramadā 1; Pramitākṣarā 83; Praharṣiṇī 77; Bhramaravilasita 1; Mañjarī 1; Mañjubhāṣiṇī 69; Mattamayūra 2; Mandākrāntā 3; Mahāmālikā 1; Mālabbhāriṇī 83; Mālinī 72; Rathoddhatā 86; Rucirā 68; Vamśapatrapatita 1; Vamśastha 152; Vasantatilaka 88; Viyoginī 79; Vaiśvadevī 1; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 4; Śālinī 81; Śikharinī 1; Sragdharā 1; Sragvinī 1; Svāgatā 91; Hariṇī 1. Total 1677.

18. *Ratnākara (9th century, 2nd half).*

**THE AUTHOR:** Rājānaka Ratnākara was patronized by King Bālabhṛhaspati, otherwise known as Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa, son of Lalitāditya of Kashmir, who ruled between 826 and 838 A. D. Ratnākara however, flourished and achieved great prominence during the reign of King Avantivarman who ruled between 855 and 883 A. D. Besides the Haravijaya Kāvya, Ratnākara is known to have composed a Vakrokti-pañcāśikā and several stray stanzas. See Dasgupta, p. 319; Keith, p. 134; Winternitz, III, pp. 51, 70.

**THE WORK:** Haravijaya is a voluminous poem in 50 cantos, containing a total of 4351 stanzas. It closely imitates Māgha's Śiśupālavadha in point of artificiality and informativeness. The author discloses his knowledge of the Nīṭisāstra in cantos 8-16 and of the Kāmasāstra in canto 29.

**METRES:** 48 different metres are employed in this poem; of these 18 are used only once each, while 10 more are used for less than 5 times each. Vasantatilaka is the favourite metre of Ratnākara; he uses this with ease and grace and this is recognized by Kṣemendra in his *Suvṛttatilaka*. He has employed this metre for the composition of not less than 25 cantos of his poem. In canto 24, Viyoginī is used for the description of Virabadaśā in imitation of Kālidāsa. In canto 5, Ratnākara has used 35 different metres in imitation of Bhāravi who used 16 in canto 5 and of Māgha, who used 22 in canto 4. For the continuous narration in a canto, Ratnākara employs (in addition to Vasantatilaka), Anuṣṭubh twice; Upajāti thrice; and the following 12 metres once each: Drutavilambita, Puṣpitāgrā, Pramitākṣarā, Prabarṣinī, Mañjubbhāṣinī, Mālabbhārinī, Mālinī, Rathoddhatā, Rucirā, Vamśastha, Viyoginī, and Śālinī.

**OCCURRENCES:** Anuṣṭubh 500; Aśvalalita 4; Āryā 1; Āryāgīti 12; Upajāti 310; Caṇḍavṛṣṭiprapāta 1; Jaladharamālā 4; Jaloddhatagati 2; Tūṇaka 1; Toṭaka 1; Dodhaka 1; Drutavilambita 103; Puṣpitāgrā 164; Pṛthvī 2; Prajñāmūla 1; Pramāṇikā 1; Pramitākṣarā 54; Pramuditavadanā 2; Prabarṣinī 126; Bhadrīkā 1; Bhramaravilasita 1; Maṅgalamaṅganā 1; Mañjarī 1; Mañjubbhāṣinī 203; Mañiguṇanikara 1; Mattamayūra 5; Mandākrāntā 8; Mālabbhārinī 80; Mālinī 107; Rathoddhatā 64; Rucirā 56; Vamśapatrapatita 2; Vamśastha 139; Vāsanta 1; Vasantatilaka 2175; Vasupadamañjarī 1; Vāṇinī 1; Viyoginī 44; Vaiśvadevī 1; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 16; Śālinī 101; Śikharinī 2; Siddhi 1; Sundara 1; Sragdharā 37; Sragvinī 2; Svāgatā 3; Hariṇī 3. Total 4351.

#### 19. Rudra Kavi (16th century, end).

**THE AUTHOR:** Rudra Kavi, son of Ananta was a Southerner. He was patronized by King Narayanshah of the Bāgula branch of the Rathods. These Bāgulas ruled over the Baglan province in the Nasik District for over a couple of centuries. Mayūragiri was their capital. The author composed his poem called *Rāṣṭraudhavamśavarṇana* during the life time of King Narayanshah, in A.D. 1596. See Dasgupta. pp. 679, 722.

**THE WORK:** The poem describes the life of the hero viz. the poet's patron in 20 cantos, mixing up historical facts with legendary tales in a curious manner. It contains a total of 1151 stanzas. It is edited by E. Krishnamacharya in the Gaek. O. Series, No. V, Baroda, 1917.

**METRES:** The poet employs 26 different metres. He is a great versifier and very fond of variety. He hardly employs the same metre for a continued narration throughout a canto. Out of the 26 metres, 13 are used for less than 10 times each. He uses Anuṣṭubh very sparingly, but employs it for the composition of a canto towards the end of the poem. Other metres which the poet uses for continuous narration, running from 20 to 60 stanzas at a stretch are Upajāti, Mālabbhārinī, Rathoddhatā and Vasantatilaka.



OCCURRENCES: Anuṣṭubh 92; Āryā 2; Indravamśā 2; Upajāti 586; Gīti 1; Toṭaka 3; Drutavilambita 10; Puspitāgrā 9; Pṛthvī 10; Pramitākṣarā 3; Praharṣiṇī 9; Bhujāṅgaprayāta 11; Mañjubhāṣiṇī 4; Mandākrāntā 3; Mālabbāriṇī 71; Mālinī 8; Rathoddhatā 55; Vamśamālā (mixture of Indravamśā and Vamśastha) 26; Vamśastha 17; Vasantatilaka 69; Viyoginī 5; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 104; Śālinī 2; Śikharinī 7; Sragdharā 15; Svāgatā 24. 3 dropped through oversight. Total 1151.

20. *Lolimbarāja (11th century, 1st half).*

THE AUTHOR: Lolimbarāja lived under a South Indian prince called Harihara, a contemporary of King Bhoja of Dhara and must have lived in the 2nd half of the 11th century A. D. The author of Vaidyajīvana is another Lolimbarāja belonging to the 17th century. See Dasgupta, p. 332; Keith, p. 137; Winternitz, III. p. 73.

THE WORK: Harivilāsa is a small poem though styled a Mahākāvya, in 5 cantos containing a total of 314 stanzas. Life of Śrīkṛṣṇa supplies the theme to the poet. The 3rd canto describes the seasons. It is edited in the Kāvya-mālā, No. 11, Bombay, 1895.

METRES: 20 different metres are used by Lolimbarāja for this short poem but none is used continuously for the composition of a canto. Upajāti and Mālinī are employed more often than others.

OCCURRENCES: Anuṣṭubh 1; Upajāti 50; Kuṭaja 3; Toṭaka 6; Drutavilambita 16; Puspitāgrā 11; Pṛthvī 21; Pramitākṣarā 2; Bhujāṅgaprayāta 4; Mālabbāriṇī 27; Mālinī 51; Rathoddhatā 36; Vamśastha 2; Vasantatilaka 39; Viyoginī 6; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 21; Śālinī 9; Sragdharā 1; Sragvinī 2; Svāgatā 6. Total 314.

21. *Varāhamihira (6th century, 2nd half).*

THE AUTHOR: Varāhamihira is the well known astronomer of ancient India. He is a voluminous writer and expert versifier. He died in 587 A. D. See Keith, pp. 528-533; Winternitz, III. p. 567.

THE WORK: Two works of Varāhamihira are selected for a metrical analysis as these are pretty well representative of his metrical skill. Bṛhatsamhitā on Astrology, contains 104 chapters, of which one is entirely devoted to the illustration of about 60 different metres whose names are skilfully introduced in the illustrative stanzas. The second work, namely, Bṛhajjātaka on Horoscopy, contains 28 chapters.

METRES: Varāhamihira employs 63 different metres, all of which are used in Bṛhatsamhitā, but only 33 in the other work. Out of the 63, however, nearly 42 are used for less than 10 times each. Āryā is of course his most favourite metre. Bṛhatsamhitā contains 2780 stanzas, while Bṛhajjātaka contains 412. Cf. Varāhamihira and Utpala (in relation to Sk. metres), an article contributed by me in the C. K. Raja Commemoration volume, Madras, 1946. I have made some additions in the following from this article, this being shown by (add) after the name.

OCCURRENCES: I have borrowed these figures from Stenzler, ZDMG., 44, p. 4-15. Anavasiṭā 3 (S. 2, J. 1); Anuṣṭubh 268 (S. 245, J. 23); Aparavaktra 10 (S. 9, J. 1); Āryā 1750 (S. 1731, J. 19); Āryāgīti S. 1 (add); Indravamśā S. 1 (add); Upagīti 3 (S. 3); Upajāti 337 (S. 282, J. 55); Udgatā S. 1; Aupacchandāsika S. 24; Kusumavicitrā 3 (S. 2, J. 1); Kṛtoddhata 5 (S. 3, J. 2); Gīti (S. 3); Tāmarasa=Lalitapada 4 (S. 3, J. 1); Tūṇaka S. 1; Totaka 9 (S. 8, J. 1); Daṇḍaka S. 5; Dodhaka 22 (S. 13, J. 9); Drutapada 2 (S. 1, J. 1); Drutavilambita S. 8; Dhīralalita S. 1; Narkuṭaka 5 (S. 3, J. 2); Puṭa S. 1; Puṣpīāgrā 23 (S. 8, J. 15); Pṛthvī=Vilambitagati 5 (S. 4, J. 1) Prabhāvatī=Lakṣmī 2 (S. 1, J. 1); Pramānikā=Sthira 12 (S. 11, J. 1); Pramitākṣarā S. 1; Prabharsinī 16 (S. 7, J. 9); Bhadrīkā=Prasabha S. 1; Bhujaṅgaprayāta S. 2; Bhujaṅgavijṛmbhita S. 1; Bhramaravilasita 2 (S. 1, J. 1); Mañjubhāṣinī J. 1; Maṇigūṇanikara S. 1; Mattamayūra S. 1; Mattā S. 1; Mandākṛāntā 19 (S. 8, J. 11); Mālatī S. 1; Mālabhāriṇī S. 9; Mālinī 36 (S. 18, J. 18); Meghavitāna=Vitana S. 1; Meghavisphūṛjitā=Suvṛttā S. 1; Moṭanaka S. 1; Rathoddhata 64 (S. 60, J. 4); Rukmavati S. 2; Rucirā S. 2; Lalita S. 1 (add); Vaktra 2 (S. 1, J. 1); Vamśapatrapatita S. 1; Vamśastha 36 (S. 22, J. 14); Vasantatilaka 157 (S. 96, J. 61); Vātermī=Ūrmimālā 4 (S. 3, J. 1); Vidyumālā 4 (S. 2, J. 2); Vilāsa S. 1 (add); Vilāsinī S. 1; Vaitāliya 57 (S. 27, J. 30); Vaiśvadevī S. 1; Śārdūlavikṛīḍita 116 (S. 42, J. 74); Śālinī 53 (S. 40, J. 13); Śikharinī 18 (S. 10, J. 8); Śuddhaviṛaṭ S. 2; Samānikā S. 1; Suvadanā S. 1; Sragdharā 11 (S. 10, J. 1); Svāgatā 20 (S. 15, J. 5) Hariṇapluta S. 1; Hariṇī=Vṛṣabhacarita 13 (S. 6, J. 7). Total Saṁhitā 2780; Jātaka 412.

## 22. Vīranandin (10th century, 2nd half).

THE AUTHOR: Vīranandin, pupil of Abhayanandin of the Deśī Gaṇa, was a Digambara writer. He is probably the same as the Vīranandin mentioned along with Abhayanandin as his venerable predecessors by Cāmuṇḍarāya in his Cāmuṇḍarāyapurāṇa in A. D. 978. His Candraprabhacarita is mentioned by Vādirāja in his Pārsvanāthacarita composed in Śake 947 (A. D. 1025). Cf. N. Premi, Jain Sāhitya aur Itihāsa, p. 297.

THE WORK: Candraprabhacarita is a Mahākāvya in 18 cantos containing a total of 1697 stanzas. It describes the life of the Tirthaṅkara Candraprabha. The poem is published in the Kāvya-mālā, No. 30, Bombay, 1912 (4th edition).

METRES: 28 different metres are used in this poem. Of these 7 are used only once each, and 5 are used for less than 10 times each. The following metres are employed for the composition of a canto: Anuṣṭubh thrice; Vamśastha and Viyoginī twice each; Udgatā, Drutavilambita, Puṣpīāgrā, Pramitākṣarā, Prabharsinī, Mālabhāriṇī, Rathoddhata, Vasantatilaka, and Svāgatā once each. Besides these Upajāti, Prabharsinī, Viyoginī and Śālinī are also used continuously for a group of 9 to 26 stanzas at a stretch in other cantos.

OCCURRENCES: Anuṣṭubh 453; Udgatā 82; Upajāti 114; Candrikā (na-na-ta-ta-ga) 1; Jaladharamālā 1; Jaloddhatagati 1; Drutavilambita 62; Narkuṭaka 1; Puṣpīāgrā 65; Pṛthvī 3; Pramitākṣara 73; Prabharsinī 78; Bhramaravilasita 1;

Mandākrāntā 12; Mālabhārīṇī 112; Mālinī 8; Rathoddhatā 80; Rucirā 1; Vamśapatrapatita 1; Vamśastha 134; Vasantatilaka 147; Viyoginī 187; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 10; Śālinī 13; Śikharīṇī 3; Sragdharā 2; Svāgatā 50; Hariṇī 2. Total 1697.

### 23. Śivasvāmin (9th century, 2nd half).

THE AUTHOR: Śivasvāmin is a Kashmirian poet. He wrote his poem Kapphinābhyudaya at the instance of his Buddhist preceptor Candramitra. It is based on the story of the Buddhist Avadāna of Kapphina. He however, dedicates the poem to lord Śiva, which shows that he was not a Buddhist by religious profession. Śivasvāmin lived during the reign of King Avantivarman of Kashmir (855-883 A. D) and was probably a junior contemporary of Ratnākara. He is quoted by Mammaṭa in Kāvya-prakāśa without mentioning his name. See Dasgupta, p. 320; Keith, p. 133.

THE WORK: Kapphinābhyudaya is a Mahākāvya on the life of Kapphina, who was a king of the Dakṣiṇāpatha and was converted to Buddhism by means of a miracle. It is in 20 cantos and contains a total of 1130 stanzas. It is critically edited for the University of Punjab in the Oriental Publications, No. 26, Lahore, 1937.

METRES: Śivasvāmin employs 46 different metres in all, of which 5 are irregular and 2 are unknown (VI. 51, 53: ma-bha-na-ya-ga and na-ja-bha-ja-ra-ga; the former is used also by Ratnākara at Haravijaya, V.35). He employs 39 different metres in canto 6 alone in imitation of Bhāravi who used 16 in canto 5, Māgha who used 22 in canto 4 and Ratnākara who used 35 in canto 5 of their respective poems. Out of these, 21 metres (including the irregular ones) are used only once each; 5 are used for less than 5 times each and 1 is a Mātrā Vṛtta (Pādākulaka) used generally by the Prakrit poets. For the composition of a canto, the following 18 are used for 1 canto each; Anuṣṭubh, Āryā, Upajāti, Drutavilambita, Narkuṭaka, Puṣpitaḡrā, Praharṣiṇī, Mattamayūra, Mandākrāntā, Mālabhārīṇī, Mālinī, Rucirā, Vamśastha, Vasantatilaka, Viyoginī, Śālinī, Svāgatā and Hariṇī. Anuṣṭubh is also used intermittently in canto 18.

OCCURRENCES: These slightly differ from those given by Prof. Gaurisankar in his edition of the poem. I have however, given full location of the metres (in the Appendix under No. 23) unlike him and the reader may judge the correctness of my statements for himself. Anuṣṭubh 256; Aśvalalita 2; Āryā 44; Āryāgīti 4; Upajāti 64; Tūṇaka 1; Totaka 1; Drutavilambita 61; Dhṛti 1; Narkuṭaka 37; Pādākulaka 2; Puṣpitaḡrā 41; Prajñāmūla 1; Prathita 2; Pramitākṣarā 2; Pramuditavadanā 1; Praharṣiṇī 43; Mañjubhāṣiṇī 1; Mattamayūra 41; Mattākrīḍā 1; Mandākrāntā 40; Mālabhārīṇī 42; Mālā 1; Mālinī 49; Rathoddhatā 1; Rucirā 40; Vamśapatrapatita 1; Vamśamālā 1; Vamśastha 54; Vasantatilaka 67; Viddyunmālā 1; Viyoginī 50; Vaiśvadevi 1; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 8; Śālinī 47; Śikharīṇī 1; Sragdharā 15; Sragviṇī 1; Svāgatā 57; Hariṇī 40; Irregular 5; dropped through oversight 2. Total 1130.



24. *Śrīharsa (12th century, 2nd half).*

**THE AUTHOR:** Śrīharsa was the son of Śrīhīra and Māmalladevī. He lived at the court of King Vijayacandra and his son King Jayantacandra of Kanauj in the latter half of the 12th century. Besides the *Naiṣadhacarita*, *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyā* is a famous work of the author on philosophy. See Dasgupta, pp. 325, 624-626; Keith, p. 139.

**THE WORK:** *Naiṣadhīyacarita* is a *Mahākāvya* in 22 cantos containing a total of 2828 stanzas. Edited by Roer in the *Bibliotheca Indica* in 2 parts, Calcutta, 1836; 1855 and also at the NSP., Bombay, 1928 (6th edition.).

**METRES:** Śrīharsa employs 19 different metres in this poem, of which 4 are used only once each. For continued narration in a canto the following are used: *Anuṣṭubh* 2 times; *Upajāti* 7 times; *Drutavilambita* once; *Rathoddhatā* once; *Vamśastha* 5 times; *Vasantatilaka* 2 times; *Viyoginī* once; *Svāgatā* 2 times and *Harinī* once. Among longer metres, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* seems to be his favourite; he uses it continuously for 10 stanzas once in canto 15.

**OCCURRENCES:** I have borrowed these from Stenzler, *ZDMG.*, 44, p. 30. *Acaladhṛti* 1; *Anuṣṭubh* 376; *Upajāti* 805; *Toṭaka* 1; *Dodhaka* 1; *Drutavilambita* 116; *Puṣpitāgrā* 19; *Prṭhivī* 1; *Mandākrāntā* 5; *Mālinī* 21; *Rathoddhatā* 155; *Vamśastha* 561; *Vasantatilaka* 213; *Viyoginī* 101; *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* 102; *Sikhariṇī* 12; *Sragdharā* 28; *Svāgatā* 253; *Harinī* 57; Total 2828.

25. *Someśvara (13th century, middle).*

**THE AUTHOR:** Someśvara was the chief priest at the court of the kings of Gujrat and is the author of many Inscriptions dated between 1241 and 1255 A. D. He composed 2 poems, only one of which I have analysed and it is *Kīrtikaumudī*, which seeks to glorify the Vaghela dynasty of Gujrat, but describes in particular the life of the minister *Vastupāla* at the court of Kings *Lavaṇaprasāda* and *Viradhavala*. See Dasgupta, p. 362; Keith, p. 173; Winternitz, III. p. 93.

**THE WORK:** *Kīrtikaumudī* is a *Mahākāvya* in 9 cantos containing a total of 722 stanzas. It is published in the B. S. Series, No. 25, Bombay, 1883.

**METRES:** *Anuṣṭubh* is the author's favourite metre which he uses for the composition of 7 cantos. Next to it is *Upajāti* used for 2 cantos. He uses *Puṣpitāgrā* continuously for 12 stanzas, *Rathoddhatā* for 23 and *Mālabhārinī* for 47 stanzas in the middle of a canto. He uses 14 metres in all of which 7 are used for less than 5 times each.

**OCCURRENCES:** *Anuṣṭubh* 419; *Upajāti* 174; *Drutavilambita* 2; *Puṣpitāgrā* 18; *Praharsinī* 3; *Mālabhārinī* 48; *Mālinī* 3; *Rathoddhatā* 23; *Vamśastha* 1; *Vasantatilaka* 19; *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* 7; *Śālinī* 3; *Sikhariṇī* 1; *Harinī* 1. Total 722.

26. *Haricandra (10th century, 1st half).*

**THE AUTHOR:** Haricandra is a Digambara Jain writer who has imitated Vākpati's Gauḍavaho. He is sometimes identified with the author of the Jivandhara-campū. He is also supposed to have been referred to by Rājasekhara in his Karpūramañjarī, along with other poets like Nandicandra, Kottīśa and Hāla. Vāgbhaṭa the author of the Neminirvāṇakāvya, seems to have imitated Haricandra's Dharmaśarmābhyudaya-kāvya. All this would point to an early date for our author, very likely, the 1st half of the 10th century. See Dasgupta, p. 344; Keith, pp. 143, 336; Winternitz, III. p. 70; N. Premi, Jain Sāhitya aur Itihāsa, pp. 472-476.

**THE WORK:** Dharmaśarmābhyudaya is a poem in 22 cantos on the life of the Tirthaṅkara Dharmanātha. It contains a total of 1765 stanzas. It is published in the Kāvya-mālā, No. 8, Bombay, 1888.

**METRES:**—The author employs 25 different metres for this poem, of which 7 are used only once each and 4 for less than 5 times each. He employs Anuṣṭubh for a continued narration in 3 cantos, Upajāti in 5 cantos, Vamśastha in 3 and Drutavilambita, Puṣpitāgrā, Praharṣiṇī, Mālinī, Rathoddhatā, Vamśamālā, Vasantatilaka, Śālinī and Svāgatā in 1 canto each.

**OCCURRENCES:**—Anuṣṭubh 350; Indravamśā 1; Upajāti 461; Ekarūpa 1; Toṭaka 1; Dodhaka 1; Drutavilambita 70; Puṣpitāgrā 69; Pṛthvī 4; Pramitākṣarā 1; Praharṣiṇī 85; Bhunjaṅgaprayāta 2; Mandākrāntā 5; Mālinī 65; Rathoddhatā 86; Vamśamālā 79; Vamśastha 208; Vasantatilaka 72; Viyoginī 1; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 27; Śālinī 101; Śikhariṇī 2; Sragviṇī 1; Svāgatā 69; Hariṇī 3. Total 1765.

27. *Halāyudha (10th century, middle).*

**THE AUTHOR:** Halāyudha was a poet-grammarian who lived at the court of Kṛṣṇarāja III of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty, who ruled in the Deccan from 940 to 956 A. D. His Kavirahasya is a small poem intended to glorify the poet's patron and at the same time to illustrate the use of the Sanskrit roots. Another work of this Halāyudha is the Abhidhānaratnamālā Kośa. See Dasgupta, p. 336; Keith, pp. 133, 414; Winternitz, III. pp. 72, 413.

**THE WORK:** Kavirahasya exists in 2 recensions: the longer one containing 299 as against the shorter one which has only 274 stanzas. Edited in both recensions, by Heller, Greifswald, 1900.

**METRES:** The shorter recension contains 6 entirely new stanzas; I have analysed the longer one. The poem contains 15 different metres, though the Anuṣṭubh is the predominant one. The shorter recension (Sr) does not contain any new metre, which is not employed in the longer one.

**OCCURRENCES:** Anuṣṭubh 230; Āryā 2; Indravamśā 2; Upajāti 4; Drutavilambita 1; Mandākrāntā 3; Mālabhāriṇī 4 (+ 1 Sr); Mālinī 2 (+ 2 Sr); Rathoddhatā 2; Vamśamālā 2 (+ 1 Sr); Vasantatilaka 32 (+ 1 Sr); Śārdūlavikrīḍita 12 (+ 1 Sr); Śikhariṇī 1; Sragdharā 1; Hariṇī 1. Total 299 (+ 6 Sr).

## 28. Hemacandra (12th century).

**THE AUTHOR:** Hemacandra is a very voluminous and many-sided writer among the Jain monks. He lived in Gujrat during the reigns of Kings Jayasimha and Kumārapāla in the 12th century A. D. Among his more important works may be mentioned the 3 Anusāsanas viz, of Śabda, Kāvya and Chandas, as also his two great poems, the Dvyāśraya and the Triṣaṣṭisalākāpuruṣacarita. The latter is a narrative poem with a preponderance of the Anuṣṭubh and hence I have selected only the former for my analysis. In his Chandonusāsana Hemacandra has composed stanzas to illustrate each one of the numerous metres in Sanskrit which he has defined. But these cannot be taken into consideration while we are examining his actual practice as reflected in his poems. For his date etc., see Dasgupta, pp. 361, 678; Keith, p. 172; Winternitz, III. p. 92.

**THE WORK:** The Dvyāśrayakāvya contains 20 cantos and a total of 2430 stanzas. It is the first part of the author's Kumārapālacarita, the 2nd part being in Prakrit and consisting of 8 cantos. The poem is published in the Bombay Sk. Series, Nos. 60, 69, Bombay, 1885, 1915,

**METRES:** 28 different metres are employed in this poem, of which 14 are used for less than 5 times each. Anuṣṭubh is the predominant metre used for the composition of 10 cantos and Upajāti for 4. Aupacchandasika and Kekirava are used for 1 canto each. Svāgatā is used for 100 stanzas at a stretch in the 8th canto, and Śalinī for 20 in the same canto.

**OCCURRENCES:** Anuṣṭubh 1417; Indravamśā 4; Upajāti 527; Aupacchandasika 99; Aupacchandasika-Aparāntikā 9; Kekirava 78; Kola 1; Dodhaka 1; Drutavilambita 2; Puṣpitāgrā 2; Prthvī 1; Mañjubhāṣinī 4; Mattamayūra 2; Mandākrāntā 3; Mṛdaṅga 1; Rathoddhatā 11; Rucirā 1; Vamśamālā 19; Vasantatilaka 48; Vaitālīya 2; Vaiśvadevī 14; Śārdūlavikrīḍita 12; Śalinī 35; Śikharinī 3; Sudanta 5; Sragvinī 4; Svāgatā 115; Hariṇī 4. Total 2430.

## APPENDIX I

## Full Metrical Analysis.

## 1. Amracandra: Bālabhārata. (Total 5486).

Anuṣṭubh (2292): Ādi 4.1-235; Sabhā 2.1-148; 4.1-105; 5.106; Vana 2.1-8; 22,28, 38-59; 64-98; 4.1-139, 142; Virāta 4.87; Udyoga 1.1-150; 2.84,85; 4.51; 5.122; Bhīṣma 2.1-278; 281; Droṇa 2.75,76,78,80-85, 95-99, 102, 106-109; 3.1-6; 13-42, 56-69, 74-134, 140-170, 175-183, 188-200, 211, 212, 214; 4.1-190, 193, 196; Karna 1.133; Śalya 1.3-187; Sauptika 1.1-106; Strī 1.145-153; Śānti 1.1-180; Aśva 1.1-91; Āśrama 1.1-58; Mausala 1.1-56; Prasthā 1.1-30; Svarga 1.1-14; Āstika 1.48-100, 106, 135, 153, 165. Āryā (64) Ādi 6.102; Vana 2.18; Virāta 1.47-107; Āstika 1.111. Utthāpanī (3) Droṇa 1.80,81,84. Upajāti (1265)



*Bāla* 1.1-106; 2.1-74; 6.1-101, 103; 9.104; 11.53-72; *Sabhā* 1.1-101, 5.1-69; *Vana* 1.1-112; 2.12,13,34; *Virāṭa* 1.1-46; 2.62; 4.1-84; *Udyoga* 2.74-76, 80; 5.1-119; *Droṇa* 1.1-79; 2.69-74, 77, 86-94, 100, 101, 103, 104; 3.135-139, 209, 210, 215; 4.191-192; *Karṇa* 1.1-130; *Śalya* 1.1,2; *Strī* 1.154, 155, 156; *Anu* 1.1-48; *Svarga* 1.25; *Āstika* 1.1-47, 107, 132, 151, 154. *Drutavilambita* (56) *Vana* 3.84-90; *Udyoga* 4.1-49. *Puṣpitāgrā* (7) *Ādi* 3.125; 5.121; *Sabhā* 4.106; *Vana* 2.11,15; *Udyoga* 2.81; *Śānti* 1.81. *Prṛthvī* (3): *Sabhā* 3.85; *Vana* 1.114; *Āstika* 1.156. *Pramitākṣarā* (95): *Ādi* 12.1-93; *Vana* 2.33; 3.92. *Prabarṣiṇī* (12): *Droṇa* 1.82,83; 3.7-12, 70-73. *Mañjubhāṣiṇī* (124): *Ādi* 3.1-124. *Mandākrāntā* (11): *Ādi* 2.80,83; 7.83; *Sabhā* 2.152, 154; *Vana* 2,24, 30; *Udyoga* 4.52; *Prasthāna* 1,31; *Āstika* 1.112,141. *Mālābhāriṇī* (13): *Droṇa* 3.43-55. *Mālinī* (65): *Ādi* 6. 104; 10.77,78; 11.1-51; *Vana* 2.25; *Virāṭa* 1.108; *Udyoga* 1.151; 2.86; *Bhīṣma* 2.279; *Droṇa* 3.213; *Sauptika* 1.107,108; *Āśva* 1.92; *Mausala* 1.57; *Āstika* 1.146. *Rathoddhatā* (298): *Ādi* 9.1-102; *Sabhā* 3.1-83; 5.70-86; *Vana* 2.9,35,99,100; *Udyoga* 2.1-73; *Droṇa* 3.201-205,216; *Svarga* 1.15-23; *Āstika* 1.124,136,149,150. *Lalitā* (156): *Virāṭa* 3.1-156. *Vaṁśamālā* (80): *Ādi* 8.1-80, *Vaṁśastha* (93); *Ādi* 9.103; 12.94; *Udyoga* 3.1-87; *Droṇa* 3.171-174. *Vasantatilaka* (251): *Ādi* 2.75,81; 5.1-119; 7.1-82; 9.107; 10.79-81; 11.52; *Sabhā* 1.102, 103, 104; 3.84; 5.97-103; *Vana* 2.10, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 26, 27, 32, 37, 103; *Udyoga* 2.82,83; 4.50; *Droṇa* 2.79, 105; 3.184-187, 206, 207, 217, 218; 4.194; *Karṇa* 1.131; *Śalya* 1.188; *Anu* 1.50; *Āśrama* 1.59; *Āstika* 1.152,153. *Viyoginī* (216): *Ādi* 9.106; *Sabhā* 5.87-96; *Virāṭa* 2.1-61; *Strī* 1.1-144. *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* (79): *Ādi* 1. 107; 2.76, 77, 79, 82; 3.127, 128, 131; 4.236; 5.120; 7.84; 8.81, 82; 9.108; 10.84; 11.73; 12.97; *Sabhā* 1.105; 2.149, 150; 5.104, 105; *Vana* 2.31, 60, 61, 62, 104; 3.94; 4.140,141; *Virāṭa* 2.63; 3.157; 4.86; *Udyoga* 5.120, 121; *Bhīṣma* 2.280; *Droṇa* 4.195; *Karṇa* 1.132; *Śalya* 1.189; *Sauptika* 1.109, 110; *Strī* 1.159, 160; *Śānti* 1.182; *Anu* 1.49, 51; *Āśva* 1.93; *Āśrama* 1.60; *Mausala* 1.58; *Prasthāna* 1.32; *Svarga* 1.26; *Āstika* 1.101-104, 109, 110, 114-119, 121, 122, 123, 125, 126, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 140, 144, 145, 162, 163, 164. *Śālinī* (3): *Strī* 1.157, 158; *Āstika* 1.108. *Śikhariṇī* (17): *Ādi* 2.78; 3.126, 129; *Sabhā* 2.153; *Vana* 2.29, 63; *Virāṭa* 4.85; *Udyoga* 3.88; *Droṇa* 2.111; 3.208; *Āstika* 1.105, 120, 142, 143, 148, 155, 159. *Sragdharā* (18): *Ādi* 2.84; 3.130; 12.95, 96; *Sabhā* 2.151; *Vana* 3.93; *Bhīṣma* 1.103; *Svarga* 1.24; *Āstika* 1.113, 127, 128, 137, 138, 139, 147, 157, 160, 161. *Svāgatā* (341): *Ādi* 9.105; 10.1-76, 82, 83; *Vana* 1.113; 2.36, 101, 102; 3.1-83, 91; *Udyoga* 2.77-79; *Bhīṣma* 1.1-102; *Droṇa* 2.1-68 and 110. Plus 4 dropped through oversight. Total 5486.

2. *Āśvaghoṣa*: i *Buddhacarita* (B 1033), ii *Saundarananda* (S 1063).

*Anuṣṭubh* (151+530=681): *B.* IV. 1-96; VI. 1-55; XII. 1-115; XIV. 1-31; S.I. 1-58; II. 1-62; XI. 1-58; XII. 1-42; XIII. 1-54; XIV. 1-45; XV. 1-65; *Aparavaktra* (1) S. VII. 58. *Udgatā* (41): S.III. 1-41. *Upajāti* (492+459 = 951): *B.* I. 8-79; II. 1-55; III. 1-62; VI. 56-65; VII. 1-57; IX. 1-71; X. 1-39; XI. 1-57; XIII. 1-69; S.I. 59,60; II. 63; IV. 1-44; V. 1-52; VI. 1-48;

VII. 1-47; X. 1-53; XI. 59; XIV. 46-49; XVI. 1-94; XVII. 1-70; XVIII. 1-43. Kusumitalatāvellita (1): S.VII. 52. Puṣpitāgrā (26 + 5 = 31): B. I. 80-89; V. 79-87; VIII. 81-87; S.III. 42; IV. 46; VI. 49; IX. 50; XVIII. 60. Pra-harsinī (3+4=7); B. IX. 81,82; X. 41; S.I. 61; XVII. 71,72,73. Mālabhāriṇī (78): B. V. 1-78. Mālinī (2): B.II. 56; XIII. 72. Rucirā (3+1=4): B.III. 64-65; XII. 121; S.X. 64. Vamśastha (123+78=201): B.III. 63; IV. 97-102; VI. 66, 67, 68; VIII. 1-80; IX. 72-80; X. 40; XI. 58-73; XII. 116-120; XIII. 70,71; S.IV. 45; IX. 1-49; X. 54-63; XV. 66-67; XVIII. 44-59. Vardhamāna (a variety of Udgatā: 2): S.II. 64, 65. Vasantatilaka (10): S.I. 62; V. 53; VII. 48-51; VIII. 58,59; IX. 51; XVIII. 61. Viyoginī (56): S.VIII. 1-56; Vaitāliya (1): S.VIII. 57. Śarabhalalitā (2): S.XII. 43; XIII. 56. Śārdūlavikrīḍita (6): S.VIII. 62; XI. 60,61; XVI. 98; XVIII. 62,63. Śikharinī (1+10=11): B.IV. 103; S.VIII. 60,61; XIV. 50-52; XV. 68,69; XVI. 95-97. Suvaḍanā (1): S.XI. 62. Sragdharā (1): S. XVIII. 664. Total B. 1033; S. 1063. Grand Total 2096.

### 3. Kavirāja: Rāghavapāṇḍavīya (total 668).

Anuṣṭubh (109); I. 1-22; 36-42; 84, 85, 88, 90, 93; II. 39, 44, 45; III. 1, 4, 6, 8, 9, 16, 19-28, 39, 40, 42, 45, 48, 49; IV. 2, 8, 9, 11, 12; V. 3, 51, 85; VI. 8, 16, 24, 26, 27; VIII. 29, 31, 44, 45, 50, 54; IX. 24, 30; X. 2, 4, 18, 21, 23, 30; XI. 24, 25; XII. 1, 10, 14, 15, 20, 21, 29, 31, 33, 43, 45, 48; XIII. 2, 12, 20, 27, 46, 59, 61, 63, 64; Aparavaktra (1): IX. 22; Upajāti (284): I. 31, 35, 43-46, 48, 50, 51, 54, 55, 58-62, 65, 67, 68, 69-73, 75, 78, 82, 89; II. 2, 3, 6, 7, 10-13, 15, 16, 19, 28, 33, 37, 38, 40-43; III. 2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 13, 15, 17, 18, 29-32, 34, 38, 44; IV. 3, 7, 10, 28, 35, 36, 40, 42, 45; V. 4-8, 10, 16, 19, 20, 24-32, 34-37, 41, 43-47, 50, 52-55, 71-84; VI. 1-4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 20-22, 25; VII. 2-5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14-27, 30-36, 38, 39, 44, 50, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57; VIII. 12-15, 17-21, 23, 24, 28, 30, 33, 36, 38-43, 48, 51, 52; IX. 5, 6, 9, 13, 18, 20, 21, 23, 26, 27, 31; X. 1, 5, 7-11, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 28, 29, 32, 33, 38, 40, 41, 43; XI. 2, 4-10, 15, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 27; XII. 2, 4, 7, 16, 18, 19, 24, 25, 40, 34, 36, 37, 44; XIII. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 19, 22, 24, 25, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 38-41, 43, 49, 53, 54, 60. Druta-vilambita (5): I. 74, 86; III. 11; IX. 2; XII. 42. Puṣpitāgrā (4): VII. 1, 46, 47, VIII. 16; IX. 22. Pṛthvi (3): I. 83; VIII. 8; XIII. 57. Pramitākṣarā (1): V. 12. Praharsinī (12): I. 63, 64; III. 43; IV. 29; V. 1, 2, 23; VII. 43, 51; VIII. 4; IX. 19; XII. 3. Mañjubhāsinī (1): I. 66. Mandākrāntā (21): I. 27, 29, 30, 53; II. 5, 17, 32; III. 33; IV. 41; V. 17, 33; VII. 41; IX. 17, 29; X. 36; XI. 20; XII. 32; XIII. 11, 42, 44, 51. Mālabhāriṇī (15): I. 79, 81; II. 35; VII. 10; IX. 3, 8; X. 26, 31, 37, 39; XII. 22, 41, 47; XIII. 47, 50. Mālinī (45): I. 80; II. 18, 21, 36; IV. 5, 15, 39, 43; V. 14, 15, 18, 21, 56; VI. 17; VII. 6, 42, 45, 48, 49, 54; VIII. 1, 2, 5, 25, 34, 37, 47; IX. 11, 16, 28; X. 27, 35, 42; XI. 1, 3, 14, 16; XII. 5, 17, 23, 27, 40; XIII. 21, 34, 48. Rathoddhatā (27): I. 32, 92; II. 23; IV. 6, 44; V. 57-70; VIII. 6, 53; IX. 12; X. 34. XII. 9, 28, 38; XIII. 10. Rucirā (25): II. 20; IV. 16, 17-27, 30-34, 37; VI. 13-15; VIII. 54; IX. 4;

X. 17. Vamśastha (40): I. 87; II. 1; III. 46; IV. 1, 4; V. 9, 38-40, 42, 48, 49; VI. 11, 18, 19, 23; VII. 13, 29, 37, 40; VIII. 11, 27, 35, 46; X. 12; XI. 13; XII. 8, 13, 35, 39; XIII. 17, 18, 23, 26, 29, 37, 52, 55, 56, 58. Vasantatilaka (12): I. 49, 56; II. 4, 22, 25; III. 41; V. 22; VI. 5; VIII. 7, 26; XI. 26; XIII. 8. Śārdūlavikrīḍita (27): I. 33, 34, 52, 91; II. 8, 24, 27, 34; IV. 13; V. 11; VIII. 3, 9, 22, 49; IX. 14; X. 6, 16; XI. 11; XII. 6, 11, 26, 46; XIII. 9, 16, 33, 45, 62. Śālinī (6): I. 76, 77; II. 29, 30; III. 47; IV. 38. Śikharinī (3): I. 47; IV. 14; V. 13. Sragdharā (25) I. 23-26, 28, 57; II. 9, 14, 26, 31; III. 12; VI. 12; VII. 9; VIII. 10; IX. 1, 7, 10, 15, 25; X. 3; XI. 12; XII. 12; XIII. 4, 15, 28. Svāgatā. (1): VIII. 32. Hariṇī (1); III. 14. Total 668.

4. Kālidāsa: *Raghuvamśa* (1545); *Kumārasambhava* (1183); Total 2658.

The figures for these poems are borrowed from Stenzler, *ZDMG.*, Vol. 44, pp. 22-24 and 33.

5. Kumārādāsa: *Jānakīharaṇa*. (Total 1064).

Anuṣṭubh (212): II. 1-77; VI. 1-54; X. 1-81. Upajāti (211): I. 1-87; III. 1-63; VII. 1-61. Narkāṭaka (6): IV. 70-72; VIII. 100-101; IX. 68. Puṣpitāgrā (12): I. 88-90; II. 78; III. 77; VIII. 93-99. Praharṣiṇī (4): V. 59; VI. 55-57. Mālinī (2): V. 56; VII. 62. Rathoddhatā (92): VIII. 1-92. Vamśastha (133): III. 64-76; V. 1-54; IX. 1-66. Vasantatilaka (10): V. 55, 57, 58, 60, 61; VI. 58, 59; IX. 67; X. 82, 83. Viyoginī (69): IV. 1-69. Śārdūlavikrīḍita (8): II. 79; IV. 73; X. 84-89. Śikharinī (2): III. 78, 79. Sragdharā (3): III. 80, 81; X. 90. Total 1064.

6. Kṛṣṇānanda: *Sahridayānanda*. (Total 944).

Anuṣṭubh (80): VIII. 1-80. Upajāti (275): I. 1-90; V. 1-55; VII. 38, 40, 48; IX. 1-70; XII. 39-41; XIV. 1-54. Drutavilambita (73): IV. 1-35; XI. 59; XII. 1-36, 56. Puṣpitāgrā (6): IV. 42, 45; VI. 51; VII. 42, 46; XII. 54. Prthvī (2): VII. 53; XII. 47. Praharṣiṇī (4): V. 58; VII. 35; XII. 46, 53. Mañjubhāṣiṇī (5): VII. 39, 41, 43; XII. 38; XIV. 66. Mattamayūra (1): VII. 37. Mandākrāntā (5): IV. 37; VIII. 81; XII. 50. XIV. 59, 71. Mālabbārinī (64): VII. 47, 50; XII. 55; XIII. 1-61. Mālinī (9): III. 56; IV. 43; IX. 72; X. 46; XI. 58; XII. 43; XIV. 72; XV. 56, 57. Rathoddhatā (35): VII. 1-33; XII. 51; XV. 59. Rucirā (1): XII. 59. Vamśastha (182): II. 1-70; IV. 36, 38, 39, 40; VI. 1-50; VII. 49, 51; XII. 37; XV. 1-55. Vasantatilaka (116): I. 91; III. 1-55; IV. 41, 44; V. 52; VII. 36, 44; X. 1-45; XI. 60; XII. 57, 58; XIV. 55-58, 67, 74; XV. 58. Viyoginī (57): XI. 1-57. Śārdūlavikrīḍita (18): II. 71; V. 56, 57; VII. 52; IX. 71; XII. 42, 45, 49; XIII. 62; XIV. 60-64, 68-70, 73. Śālinī (5): VII. 34, 45; XII. 44, 48, 52. Śikharinī (1): XI. 61. Sragdharā (3): X. 47; XV. 60, 61. Hariṇī (2): XIII. 63; XIV. 65. Total 944.

7. Kṣemendra: 1. *Samayamātrkā* (639); *Daśavatāracarita* (1759).

Anuṣṭubh (S. 363 + D. 1093 = 1456): S. I. 1, 3, 5-12, 26-47; II. 1-16, 18-38, 40-53, 55-58, 60, 61, 63-69, 71, 73-90, 93-102; III. 1-8, 10-29; IV. 1-10, 14-20,



23, 26, 36-65, 67, 68, 71-79, 81-89, 94-113, 115-118, 123-125, 127, 128, 131; V. 1-69; VII. 1-5, 8, 9, 11-42, 44, 47; VIII. 131; D. I. 1, 3-14, 18-21, 23-28, 31-42, 44-46, 49, 50, 52-56, 58, 59; IV. 1-10, 12, 14-16, 18-23, 25-42, 46-63, 66, 67, 69-79, 81-84, 88; V. 1-26, 28-34, 37-50, 52-55, 57, 58, 60-71, 73-77, 79, 81-102, 104, 105, 107-131, 133-140, 142-147, 149-153, 155-161, 163-166, 168-175, 177-181, 185-188; VIII. 1-30, 32-40, 42-48, 50-59, 62, 63, 67-71, 82, 83, 85-90, 92-97, 99-119, 121, 123-132, 135-148, 151-170, 177-181, 183-187, 190-220, 223-233, 235, 236, 238-245, 247, 248, 251-262, 264-270, 273-279, 281-283, 285-295, 297-304, 309-311, 313-318, 320-329, 331, 332, 334-425, 428-452, 454-460, 463-475, 477-504, 507-519, 521-530, 532-540, 542-550, 552-582, 584-586, 599-611, 613-620, 624-626, 628, 629, 631-634, 636-658, 660-666, 668, 670-673, 675-682, 684-686, 688-746, 748-758, 760, 762-768, 770-813, 815, 816, 818-821, 826-846, 848-855, 857-860, 862-869, 871; X. 1-24, 30, 31, 33-37. Āryā (S. 115): I. 48, IV. 70, 129; VIII. 1-9, 11-13, 15-28, 30-52, 58, 60-82, 84-87, 89-92, 95-105, 107, 108, 109, 111-125, 127, 129. Udgīti (S. 1): IV. 130. Upajāti (S. 63 + D. 374=437): S. I. 52; III. 30-32; IV. 21, 22, 25, 69, 80, 91, 92, 120; V. 70-88, 90; VI. 1-27, 33, 36; VII. 45, 46; D. II. 1-15; 17-29, 33, 37, 38; V. 182, 189-200, 202-211, 213-215; VI. 1-19, 21-26, 28-31; VII. 1-18, 20-30, 32, 33, 35-39, 41-58, 60-67, 69-83, 85-95, 97-121, 123, 125, 127-131, 134-138, 140, 143-149, 151-160, 163-165, 169-171, 174, 175, 178, 179, 181-187, 189, 190, 194-202, 204-213, 215-217, 219-227, 229-231, 233, 234, 237-239, 242-247, 257, 259-263, 265-279, 282-293; VIII. 174, 506, 747; IX. 1-13, 15, 16, 19-29, 31-35, 37-41, 44-50; X. 40, 41. Gīti (S. 14): S. VIII. 10, 14, 29, 53-57, 59, 83, 88, 106, 110, 126. Dodhaka (S. 1): S. VI. 32. Drutavilambita (S. 2): S. IV. 132, 134. Pṛthvī (S. 1, D. 1=2): S. IV. 119; D. VII. 240. Mandākṛāntā (S. 7, D. 17=24): S. I. 24, 51; II. 39, 91; IV. 122; V. 89; VII. 7; D. I. 43; III. 28; IV. 11, 13; V. 167; VII. 132, 161, 203; VIII. 41, 61, 73, 133, 308, 520, 551, 597, 630. Mālinī (S. 4, D. 20=24): S. VII. 6, 48, 49; VIII. 128; D. I. 16, 60; II. 16, 30, 32; III. 21; V. 27; VII. 133, 191, 192, 193, 228; VIII. 65, 81, 134, 427, 541, 627, 847, 873. Vamśastha (D. 24): D. III. 1-7, 9-20, 22-24, 26, 27. Vasantatilaka (S. 27, D. 51=78): S. I. 14-23, 25, 50; II. 105-107; III. 9; IV. 11, 12, 13, 24, 28, 30, 31, 34; VII. 43; VIII. 93, 94; D. I. 17, 22, 29, 57; II. 31, 35; IV. 44, 85; V. 80, 217, 218, 219, 220; VI. 32, 33; VII. 122, 136, 248, 249, 251, 253-256, 258; VIII. 66, 305, 306, 307, 476, 531, 583, 635, 659, 669, 761, 814, 817; IX. 52-61, 63; X. 25, 26. Śārdūlavikrīḍita (S. 29, D. 114=143): S. I. 2, 4, 13, 49; II. 54, 59, 62, 70, 72, 92, 108; III. 33, 34, 35; IV. 27, 29, 32, 33, 35, 66, 90, 93, 126, 133; VI. 28, 31; VIII. 130, 132, 133; D. I. 15, 30, 48, 51; II. 34, 36, III. 8, 25; IV. 17, 64, 65, 68; V. 35, 36, 56, 59, 72, 106, 141, 148, 176, 183, 184, 201, 221; VII. 31, 59, 68, 139, 141, 142, 150, 167, 168, 172, 173, 176, 177, 180, 188, 214, 218, 241, 250, 264, 280, 281; VIII. 49, 60, 64, 72, 74-80, 84, 91, 98, 135, 149, 150, 171, 172, 175, 176, 182, 189, 221, 234, 237, 246, 249, 250, 263, 271, 280, 284, 312, 319, 330, 333, 426, 461, 612, 623, 667, 674, 683, 687, 769, 824, 825, 861, 872; IX. 17, 18, 51, 62, 64-73; X. 27, 29, 39. Śikhariṇī (S. 2, D. 26=28): S. II. 17; VII. 10; D. IV. 86; V. 154; VI. 20; VII. 19, 34, 96, 162; VIII. 120, 122, 272, 296, 453, 462,

505, 598, 621, 622, 759, 822, 823, 856, 870; IX. 14. 30, 36, 42. Sragdharā (S. 6, D. 26 = 32): S. II. 103, 104; III. 36; VI. 29, 30, 34; D. I. 2; II. 39; IV. 24, 43, 45, 80, 87, 89; V. 51, 78, 212, 216; VI. 27, 34, 35; VII. 40, 84, 124, 126, 166, 232, 235, 252; VIII. 188; X. 28, 38. Hariṇī (S. 3, D. 13 = 16): S. III. 37; IV. 114, 121; D. I. 47; II. 40; III. 29; IV. 90; V. 103, 132, 162, 222, 223; VII. 294; VIII. 31; IX. 74; X. 32. Total S. 639; D. 1759. Grand Total 2398.

8. Dhanañjaya: *Dvisandhāna*. (Total 1106).

Anuṣṭubh (288): VII. 1-94; IX. 1-51; XVIII. 1-143. Aṣṭavaktra (14): XIII. 37; XV. 34-44; XVII. 65, 66. Indravamśā (1): XVII. 76; Udgatā (39): XVII. 1-39; Upajāti (247): II. 31, 33; III. 1-40; V. 1-64; VI. 47, 48; VIII. 18, 21, 23, 25, 28, 29, 34-47, 49, 51, 54, 55, 57; X. 36, 39, 40; XI. 32, 33, 35, 36; XII. 48; XIII. 30, 32, 35; XIV. 25, 27, 28, 33, 34, 35, 36; XVI. 1-82; XVII. 45, 46, 53, 55, 57, 60, 62, 63, 64, 68, 73, 77, 85, 86. Jaladharamālā (5): VIII. 7, 11, 13, 15, 17. Jaloddhatagati (1): VIII. 24. Toṭaka (2): VIII. 48, 53. Drutavilambita (8): V. 68; VI. 50; VIII. 1-5, 20. Puṣpitāgrā (38): II. 34; V. 67; XIII. 38; XV. 1-33; XVII. 58, 83. Pṛthvī (1): XIII. 44. Pramitākṣarā (51): VIII. 56; XII. 1-46; XVII. 43, 44, 78, 84. Pramuditavadanā (2): XIII. 40, 41. Praharsinī (29): V. 65; VIII. 6, 8, 26; IX. 52; XIV. 1-24. Mattamayūra (34): VIII. 14, 19; X. 37, 38; XIII. 1-28, 36; XIV. 26. Mandākrāntā (2): XIII. 43; XIV. 30. Mālabhāriṇī (8): IV. 54; X. 41, 42, XIII. 31; XVII. 49, 54, 61, 79. Mālinī (5): VI. 51; XIII. 42; XV. 83, 85; XVII. 87. Mauktikamālā (4): VIII. 30-33. Rathoddhatā (23): VIII. 12; X. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, 44; XVII. 48, 51. Rucirā (29): II. 1-29. Vamśapatrapatita (1): VIII. 16. Vamśastha (104): I. 1-51; VI. 1-46; X. 43; XI. 31; XIII. 33, 39; XVII. 71, 72, 82. Vasantatilaka (24): I. 52; II. 30; IV. 55; VI. 52; VIII. 9, 22, 52; X. 46; XI. 34, 38, 41; XII. 47, 51, 52; XIV. 38, 39; XV. 46-48, 50; XVI. 86, 87; XVII. 89, 91. Viyoginī (57): IV. 1-53; XI. 39; XVII. 41, 42; XVIII. 144. Vaiśvadevī (1): VIII. 27. Śārdūlavikriḍita (4): VII. 95; XIV. 31; XVIII. 145, 146. Śālinī (46): II. 32; III. 41, 42; VI. 49; VIII. 10, 50; XI. 1-30, 40; XII. 49; XIV. 32; XVII. 47, 70, 74, 75, 80, 81, 90. Śikharinī (7): XI. 37; XII. 50; XIII. 34; XIV. 29; XV. 49; XVI. 84; XVII. 40. Svāgatā (24): V. 66; X. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34; XIV. 37; XVII. 50, 52, 56, 59, 67, 88. Hariṇī (7): III. 43; V. 69; VIII. 58; X. 45; XIII. 29; XV. 45; XVII. 69. Total 1106.

9. Padmagupta: *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*. (Total 1535).

Anuṣṭubh (454): II. 1-99; VI. 1-117; XI. 1-119; XVI. 1-119. Udgatā (69): III. 73; XV. 1-68. Upajāti (316): I. 1-90; VIII. 80; IX. 1-65; X. 65-68; XI. 120; XIII. 63; XIV. 1-85; XV. 72; XVII. 1-68. Puṣpitāgrā (78): II. 100; III. 1-72; VI. 118; VII. 81; IX. 67; XII. 80; XVI. 120. Praharsinī (1): VI. 119. Mañjubhāṣinī (64): X. 1-64. Mandākrāntā (3): II. 101; XIII. 70; XVI. 121. Mahāmālikā (1) XIII. 72. Mālabhāriṇī (81): IV. 61; V. 1-80. Mālinī (3): V. 82; XIII.

71; XV. 70. Rathoddhatā (80): VIII. 1-79; IX. 66. Vamśastha (201): IV. 1-60; VII. 1-79; XIII. 1-62. Vasantatilaka (95): I. 91; IV. 62, 63; VII. 80; VIII. 81; X. 69; XI. 121; XII. 79; XIII. 64-69; XIV. 86; XV. 69, 73; XVII. 69-75; XVIII. 1-67; 69-72. Viyoginī (78): XII. 1-78. Śārdūlavikrīḍita (3): III. 74; X. 70; XVII. 76. Śālinī (1): XV. 71. Śikharinī (1): V. 81. Sragdharā (2): XV. 74; XVIII. 68. Harinī (4): VII. 82; X. 71; XII. 81; XIV. 87. Total 1535.

10. Bālacandrasūri: *Vasantavilāsa*. (Total 1007).

Anuṣṭubh (52): IV. 1-52. Upajāti (313): I. 1-76; II. 27-49; III. 1-77; VI. 66; IX. 1-34; XI. 1-93; XII. 12, 13, 15, 17, 21, 23, 25, 27, 30. Gīti (1): XII. 28. Toṭaka (1): XII. 22. Drutavilambita (70): VI. 1-65; 68, 70; XII. 14, 16, 18. Pādākulaka (2): XII. 26, 29. Puṣpitāgrā (24): IV. 53; V. 97, 98, 100, 101, 102; VI. 67, 71; IX. 56-59; XII. 1-11, 36. Pṛthvī (15): IX. 35-49. Pramitākṣarā (27): II. 1-26; XII. 20. Praharṣinī (2): V. 103; XII. 41. Mandākrāntā (1): IX. 50. Mālabhārinī (1): V. 96. Mālādhruvaka (1): XII. 32. Mālinī (5): III. 82; V. 105, 110; VII. 70; XII. 38. Rathoddhatā (160): III. 78; VIII. 1-69; X. 1-88; XII. 35, 39. Vamśamālā (76): VII. 40, 60; XII. 42-45; XIII. 1-66, 68-71. Vamśastha (68): VII. 1-39; 41-59, 61-68; XII. 19; XIII. 67. Vasantatilaka (15): III. 79-81; V. 104, 109; VI. 72; VII. 69; IX. 52-55; XII. 33, 37, 40, 46. Vidyādharaḥaṣa (1): XII. 31. Śārdūlavikrīḍita (69): I. 77; II. 50; IV. 54; V. 99, 107, 108, 111; VIII. 70; X. 89, 90; XI. 94; XII. 48-50, 72; XIV. 1-54. Śālinī (2): V. 106; XII. 34. Sragdharā (3): IX. 60; XII. 47; XIV. 55. Sragvinī (1): XII. 24. Svāgatā (96): V. 1-95; VI. 69. Harinī (1): IX. 51. Total 1007.

11. Bilhaṇa: *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*. (Total 1651).

The figures for this poem are borrowed from Stenzler, ZDMG., 44, p. 70.

12. Buddhaghōṣa: *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*, (Total 641),

Anuṣṭubh (82): IX. 1-82. Upajāti (346): I. 1-78; III. 1-63; IV. 1-86; V. 56-62; VI. 16-27; VII. 1-58; VIII. 1-41; IX. 83. Puṣpitāgrā (1): VI. 32; Mandākrāntā (1): VII. 59; Mālabhārinī (3): VI. 28-30. Mālinī (3): I. 79; II. 54; IV. 87; Rathoddhatā (1): VI. 31. Vamśastha (67): V. 1-55; VI. 33-44. Vasantatilaka (133): II. 1-53; III. 64; V. 64; VI. 1-15; VIII. 42-47; X. 1-57. Viyoginī (1): II. 55. Śārdūlavikrīḍita (1): X. 58. Śālinī (2): V. 63; VI. 45. Total 641.

14. Bhāravi. *Kirātārjunīya*. (Total 1041).

The figures for this poem are borrowed from Stenzler, ZDMG., 44, p. 25.

15. Bhaumaka: *Rāvaṇārjunīya*, (Total 1545).

Anuṣṭubh (399): VII. 1-19; 21-31; XI. 1-46; XIII. 1-57, 60, 61; XV. 1-56; XVIII. 1-56; XXI. 1-31; XXII. 76, 77; XXIII. 1-59. Aparavaktra (1): XIX. 52. Indravamśā (3): V. 27, 34; X. 16. Upajāti (730): I. 1-6, 9-11, 14, 15, 18-21, 29-33, 36-39, 41, 42, 43, 45-49; II. 29, 34, 35, 41-43, 49, 51, 57, 68, 69;



III. 3-7, 11, 13, 17-19, 24, 45, 46, 43, 51; IV. 2-37, 41-44, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52-55, 59, 60; V. 4-7, 9, 11, 13-15, 18, 29, 30, 31; VI. 1-25, 27-44, 46-70, 75-79; VIII. 1-4, 6, 10-18, 20-24, 32-34, 39, 40, 45, 46, 48-58, 60-65; IX. 23-30, 32-50; X. 1-4, 6-15, 17, 20-27, 29-37, 39-42, 45, 48; XI. 47, 48, 50, 51; XII. 1-10, 12-50, 52, 53, 56, 57, 60, 64, 66, 68-79, 81, 83-85; XIII. 63-65; XIV. 1-9, 11-63; XVI. 1-36, 38-40, 42-45, 47-66, 70, 72; XVII. 9, 20, 36-38, 41-43, 48, 52, 54, 60, 63-67, 70, 75-78, 81; XIX. 1-7, 9-19, 21-24, 26, 27, 29, 31, 33, 36, 38, 40-49, 51, 53-58, 61, 62, 64; XX. 5, 6, 16, 18-23, 26-31; XXII. 4, 6, 10, 12, 17, 44, 45, 60, 61, 62, 69, 71, 75, 82, 83, 85; XXIII. 1-4, 9-12, 15-19, 21-41, 43-48, 53, 62-64, 66, 67; XXV. 1-6, 9-13; XXVI. 1-18, 21-34, 38, 41-43, 45-48; XXVII. 64, 74-79, 84-87, 89. *Aupacchandāsika* (69): I. 12, 23, 24, 26-28; II. 39, 46, 47, 54-56, 62; III. 8; IV. 39; V. 12, 20; VIII. 29-31; IX. 4, 5, 7, 9-16, 18-22; X. 38; XII. 58, 61, 67; XIX. 39, 59, 60, 63; XX. 7, 11-13, 15; XXII. 2, 3, 47, 54, 55, 57, 73; XXIII. 13; XXV. 19, 20; XXVII. 50, 54, 56, 57, 66, 68, 71-73, 92. *Drutavilambita* (7): III. 10, 43; XVII. 34, 56, 57; XIX. 8, 25. *Puṇḍarika* (4): I. 25, 34, 35, 40. *Puṣpitaḡrā* (21): II. 36-38; III. 27, 44; IV. 51, 56, 57, 58; V. 32; IX. 51; XVI. 71; XVII. 59, 72, 73, 80; XIX. 28; XXII. 64, 65; XXVII. 55, 91. *Prthvī* (1): XVIII. 57. *Pramitākṣarā* (2): XVII. 74; XXV. 7. *Prahaṛṣiṇī* (14): I. 16, 22; III. 15; VI. 81; VII. 32; VIII. 47, 59; XV. 57; XX. 1-4, 10; XXII. 59. *Bhramaravilasita* (1); II. 5. *Mañjubhāṣiṇī* (1): V. 33. *Mālabhāriṇī* (55); II. 44, 45, 66; III. 16, 20-22; V. 1-3, 10, 16, 17, 19, 21, 25, 28; VI. 71, 73; VIII. 25-28, 41-43; IX. 1-3, 6, 8, 17; X. 50; XVII. 39, 44-47, 58, 62; XIX. 30, 32; XX. 9, 14, 17; XXII. 16, 56, 74; XXIII. 51; XXVI. 39; XXVII. 49, 65, 67, 69, 70. *Mālinī* (16): I. 51; II. 72; III. 28, 52, 53; V. 35; VI. 84; VII. 33; VIII. 70; IX. 52; X. 51; XII. 86; XIII. 66; XIV. 64; XIX. 65; XXII. 86. *Rathoddhatā* (25): I. 13, 44; II. 58; III. 9, 23, 25, 30; VI. 44a; XII. 59; XVI. 73; XVII. 16, 17, 69, 79, 82; XIX. 20, 34, 35, 50; XXII. 8, 67; XXIII. 7, 42; XXVII. 80, 81. *Rukmavatī* (1): XXII. 24. *Rucirā* (1): XXIV. 70. *Vamśastha* (102); I. 50; II. 1-4, 6-11, 13-28, 30-33, 40, 50, 52, 53, 59; III. 1, 2, 14, 29, 31-36, 47; IV. 1, 40, 45, 48; VI. 72, 74, 80; VIII. 65-68; X. 28, 46, 47; XII. 51; XIV. 37; XVI. 67; XVII. 1-8, 10-15, 18, 19, 21-33, 49, 71; XX. 32; XXII. 84; XXIV. 65; XXVI. 44; XXVII. 51, 52, 88, 90. *Vāsantatilaka* (25): I. 17; II. 60, 61, 63, 67; III. 12, 42; IV. 62; VI. 82, 83; VIII. 19, 69; XI. 49, 52; XVI. 75; XVII. 51, 61; XXI. 32; XXII. 1, 11; XXIII. 54; XXV. 14; XXVI. 40; XXVII. 93, 94. *Viyoginī* (12): III. 49, 50; XX. 8, 24, 25; XXII. 81; XXIII. 49, 50; XXIV. 68, 69; XXVII. 58, 59. *Vaitāliya* (3): III. 40, 41; XXII. 79. *Vaiśvadevī* (5): II. 12; VIII. 35; XII. 82; XVII. 40; XXIII. 5. *Śālinī* (23); II. 48, 71; III. 37, 38; V. 8, 22, 24; VI. 26; VIII. 36, 38; X. 19; XII. 65, 80; XVI. 41; 46; XVII. 55, 83, 84; XIX. 37; XXVI. 35-37; XXVII. 82. *Śikharinī* (1): XXIII. 52. *Svāgatā* (14): I. 7, 8; II. 64, 65; IV. 38; VII. 20; XVI. 69, 74; XVII. 35, 50, 53, 68; XXII. 63, 78.

16. *Mañkha: Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. (Total 1648).

*Anuṣṭubh* (203): IV. 1-45; XIX. 1-44; XXV. 1-36; 48-59, 62-104, 106-119, 124, 127-134. *Aparavaktra* (36): XXIII. 1-36. *Āryā* (3): XXV. 38, 41,

46. Udgatā (45): IX. 1-45. Upajāti (224): I. 1-44; II. 1-27; IV. 53; V. 1-57; VIII. 51, 52; XI. 63-73; XII. 36-55; 87-93; XX. 1-55. Dvipathaka (Dohā) (13): XII. 74-86. Puṣpitaḡrā (64): IV. 49; VII. 1-45; X. 47; XI. 13-24; XIV. 62; XIX. 45, 61; XXI. 47; XXII. 47. Prthvī (6): VI. 67; IX. 55; XVI. 27; XVIII. 60; XIX. 57; XXI. 49. Pramitākṣarā (41): XIII. 1-41. Praharsinī (59): VI. 59; IX. 53; XVII. 1-57. Mañjubhāsinī (57): III. 76, 73; IV. 60; VI. 71; IX. 54; XIV. 1-52. Mandākṛāntā (72): I. 46; II. 55; III. 71, 72; V. 51, 54; VI. 61; VII. 63; X. 43; XII. 96; XIII. 51; XIV. 60, 63; XV. 41, 43, 45, 49; XVI. 4, 8, 9, 15, 28, 38, 40, 44, 46; XIX. 53, 54; XX. 56, 57; XXI. 43, 45, 48; XXIV. 1-39. Mālabhārinī (58); VIII. 1-50; XI. 25-32. Mālinī (21): III. 74; IV. 48; V. 49; VI. 58, 60, 69, 74; VII. 46, 61; X. 61; XIII. 45; XIV. 64; XVI. 18, 22; XVII. 59, 60; XIX. 62; XXIII. 39, 40, 44, 47. Rathoddhatā (86): X. 1-40; XII. 1-46. Rucirā (1): XVI. 26. Vamśastha (122): III. 1-69; IV. 46; XII. 25-35; XXI. 1-41. Vasantatilaka (249): I. 50, 53; II. 28-40; III. 75; IV. 54, 55, 58, 61, V. 1-17; VI. 63; VII. 47-60; VIII. 53-54; IX. 46-48, 52; X. 41, 42, 45, 52, 57; XI. 33-51; XIII. 42, 43, 46; XIV. 53-56, 59, 61, 65; XV. 1-40; XVI. 7, 11, 17, 30, 31, 32, 49, 55; XVII. 58, 63; XVIII. 1-54; XIX. 46-48, 50; XX. 62; XXI. 44, 52; XXII. 48-52; XXIII. 37, 38, 41, 46; XXV. 43, 135, 136, 137, 138, 149, 150. Vīyoginī (13); IV. 47; XII. 13-24. Śārdūlavikrīḡḡta (155): I. 45, 47-49, 52, 54-56; II. 41-44, 46, 47, 49, 52, 53, 56-58; III. 70, 73, 77; IV. 50, 51, 56, 57, 59, 62; V. 48, 50, 52, 55; VI. 62, 64-66, 68, 72; VII. 62, 65; VIII. 55, 56; IX. 49, 56; X. 44, 46, 48, 49, 54-56, 59; XI. 74; XII. 94, 95; XIII. 44, 47-50, 52; XIV. 57, 58, 66; XV. 42, 44, 47, 48; XVI. 1-3, 5, 12-14, 19-21, 23, 25, 33-37, 41, 43, 45, 47, 50-54, 56; XVII. 62, 64, 65; XVIII. 55, 56, 58; XIX. 49, 51, 52, 55, 56, 60, 63, 64, 65; XX. 58-61, 63, 64; XXI. 42, 46, 50, 51; XXII. 53-55; XXIII. 42, 45, 50, 51; XXIV. 42, 43; XXV. 37, 39, 40, 42, 44, 45, 47, 61, 105, 120, 121, 123, 125, 126, 139, 148, 151; Śikhariṇī (19): II. 45, 51, 54; IV. 63; V. 53; VII. 64; IX. 50; X. 58; XVI. 24, 39, 42, 48, 57; XVII. 61; XXIII. 49, 54; XXV. 60, 122, 152. Sragdharā (55): I. 51; IV. 52, 64; V. 56, 57; VI. 73; VII. 66; X. 50, 60; XI. 75; XII. 56-73, 97; XIV. 67, 68; XV. 46, 50; XVI. 58, 59; XVII. 66, 67; XVIII. 57, 59, 61; XIX. 58, 59, 66; XX. 65; XXI. 53; XXII. 56-58; XXIII. 48, 52, 53, 55, 56; XXIV. 40, 44. Svāgatā (36): XI. 1-12; 52-62; XII. 1-12; XXIII. 43. Hariṇī (11): II. 48, 50; VI. 70; IX. 51; X. 51, 53; XVI. 6, 10, 16, 29; XXIV. 41. Total 1648.

17. Māgha: Śiṣupālavadha. (Total 1677).

I have borrowed the figures from Stenzler, ZDMG., 44, p. 28.

18. Ratnākara: Haraviḡaya. (Total 4351). (For convenience, the figures indicating the number of cantos are printed in black Arabic type).

Anuṣṡubh (500): 32. 1-116; 43. 1-384. Aśvalalita (4): 5. 126, 148; 22. 65; 43. 70. Āryā (1): 43. 72. Āryāḡīti (12): 5. 2, 97, 100, 105, 110, 113, 116, 137, 141, 142; 46. 45, 78. Upajāti (310): 5. 1, 4, 14, 26, 34, 46, 64, 71, 94, 103, 112, 134; 9.

1-69; 25. 1-61; 27. 2, 7, 11, 15, 18, 20, 24, 28, 32, 36, 40, 44, 51, 55, 59, 63, 67; 31. 60; 38. 1, 5, 8, 35, 43, 45, 47, 51, 59, 65, 69, 72, 74; 45. 5, 8; 46. 11, 16, 23, 24, 39, 42, 55; 48. 1-128. Candavṛṣṭiprapāta Dandaka (1): 46. 74. Jaladharamā-ā (4): 5. 32, 102, 120, 132. Jaloddhatagati (2): 5. 56, 70. Tūnaka (1): 5. 140. Toṭaka (1): 5. 76. Dodhaka (1): 5. 68. Drutavilambita (103): 3. 1-92; 5. 8, 47, 62, 67, 83, 95, 109; 12. 79; 45. 21; 46. 32, 56. Puṣpitāgrā (164): 5. 11, 19, 29, 41, 53, 65, 77, 86, 89, 118, 138, 145; 19. 67; 27. 1, 5, 10, 14, 19, 23, 27, 31, 35, 39, 43, 47, 50, 54, 58, 62, 66, 70, 74, 78, 82, 86, 90, 94, 97, 101, 110; 28. 1-107; 31. 51; 32. 117; 34. 61, 38. 53, 62, 67; 46. 10, 22, 25, 31, 38, 47, 57, 62; 47. 167; 50. 83, 102. Pṛthvī (2): 46. 68, 69. Pramāṇikā (1): 46. 53. Pramitākṣarā (54): 5. 13, 52, 130; 42. 1-50; 43. 5. Pramuditavadanā (52): 5. 16; 46. 41. Praharsinī (126): 5. 59; 14. 57; 17. 1-110; 27. 104; 34. 39, 42, 64; 38. 56, 85; 45. 3, 38; 46. 14, 30, 34, 50; 50. 84, 86. Bhadrīkā (1): 5. 129. Bhramaravilasita (1): 5. 10. Maṅgalamaṅgarā (1): 46. 47. Mañjarī (1): 5. 40. Mañjubhāṣinī (203) 5. 17, 79, 108; 6. 1-193; 38. 38; 45. 1, 43; 46. 7, 19, 33, 54. Manigunīnikara (1): 5. 147. Mattamayūra (5): 5. 25, 55, 88; 34. 44; 46. 36. Mandākṛāntā (8): 7. 64; 20. 86; 22. 62; 23. 71; 45. 50; 46. 75; 50. 89, 98. Mālabhāṛinī (80): 5. 5, 23, 43, 61, 73, 82, 85, 114, 126; 15. 1-61; 27. 95; 38. 2, 3; 44. 66; 46. 2, 9, 12, 18, 20; 49. 56. Mālinī (107): 1. 64; 2. 64; 5. 145, 150; 6. 197; 7. 62, 63; 8. 51, 52; 10. 52; 11. 76; 16. 81; 17. 113; 19. 68; 22. 60; 23. 65; 27. 116; 28. 116, 117; 29. 62, 63; 31. 62; 33. 47; 34. 47, 49, 52, 62, 66, 67; 35. 61; 36. 61; 39. 53, 40. 65; 41. 1-64; 43. 385; 46. 64; 48. 146; 49. 58; 50. 85, 87, 92-95. Rathoddhatā (64): 5. 20, 92, 98; 14. 1-56; 34. 63; 45. 7; 46. 3, 28. Rucirā (56): 5. 106; 29. 1-52; 34. 40; 45. 14; 46. 17. Vamśapatrapatita (2): 5. 49, 124. Vamśastha (139): 5. 38, 74, 121; 12. 1-69; 21. 1-47, 51, 52; 26. 92; 27. 71, 75, 79, 83, 87, 91; 45. 11, 44; 46. 1, 4, 27, 37, 40, 43, 49, 52, 60. Vāsanta (1): 5. 135. Vāsantatilaka (2175): 1. 1-63; 2. 1-63; 3. 93, 94; 4. 1-40; 5. 3, 6, 9, 12, 15, 18, 21, 24, 27, 30, 33, 36, 39, 42, 45, 48, 51, 54, 57, 60, 63, 66, 69, 72, 75, 78, 81, 84, 87, 90, 93, 96, 101, 104, 107, 111, 115, 119, 122, 125, 128, 131, 133, 136, 139, 143, 146, 149; 6. 194, 195, 196; 7. 1-56, 58-61; 8. 1-50; 9. 70-76; 10. 1-51; 11. 1-75; 12. 70-78, 80, 81; 13. 1-82; 14. 58, 59; 15. 62-67; 16. 1-80; 17. 111, 112; 18. 92-100; 19. 1-66; 20. 1-85; 21. 48-50, 53-56; 22. 1-56; 23. 1-64; 24. 40-50; 25. 62-70; 26. 1-91; 27. 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 21, 22, 25, 26, 29, 30, 33, 34, 37, 38, 41, 42, 45, 46, 48, 49, 52, 53, 56, 57, 60, 61, 64, 65, 68, 69, 72, 73, 76, 77, 80, 81, 84, 85, 88, 89, 92, 93, 96, 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 105, 106, 108, 109, 111-115; 28. 108-115; 29. 53-61; 30. 1-93; 31. 1-50, 52, 53, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61; 32. 118; 33. 1-46; 34. 1-38, 41, 43, 45, 46, 48, 50, 51, 53-60, 65; 35. 1-60; 36. 1-60; 37. 1-67; 38. 4, 6, 7, 9-35, 37, 39-42, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 54, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 66, 68, 70, 71, 73, 75-83, 86; 39. 1-52; 40. 1-64; 42. 51; 44. 1-65, 67-69; 45. 2, 4, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15-20, 22-37, 39-42, 45, 46, 48, 57; 46. 8, 13, 20, 26, 29, 35, 44, 48, 61, 63, 66, 73, 77; 47. 1-166; 48. 129-131, 133, 134, 137, 139, 141, 143; 49. 1-55, 57; 50. 1-81, 90, 91, 96, 100. Vasupadamañjarī (1): 46. 65. Vāṇinī (1): 5. 37. Viyoginī (44): 5. 31, 34; 24. 1-39; 46. 6, 15, 46. Vaiśvadevī (1): 48. 135. Śārdūlavikrīḍita (16): 4. 41; 16. 82; 17. 114; 26. 93; 37. 68; 45. 49, 51, 52, 53, 56; 46. 71, 72; 47. 169; 48. 132, 136; 50. 88. Śālinī (101): 5. 28, 91; 7. 57; 18. 1-91; 31. 57; 38. 90; 45. 47; 46. 58, 59; 47. 170. Śikharinī



(2): 22. 53; 27. 107. Siddhi (1): 21. 57. Sundara (1): 5. 123. Sragdharā (37): 5. 151; 13. 83; 15. 68; 21. 58; 22. 57, 59, 61, 63, 64; 23. 118, 119; 30. 94; 35. 62; 38. 84, 87-89, 91; 39. 54; 41. 65; 44. 70; 45. 54, 55, 58; 46. 76, 79, 80, 81; 48. 138, 140, 142, 144, 145, 147, 148; 50. 99, 101. Sragvinī (2): 5. 22, 58. Svāgatā (3): 5. 50, 80, 99. Harinī (3): 18. 101; 47. 168; 50. 97. Unnamed (4): 5. 35 (ma-bha-na-ya-ga); 14. 60 (na-ja-bha-ja-na-sa); 31. 54 (bha-na-na-ja-ga); 43. 51 (ta-na-na-ya); 46. 65 (na-ja-bha-ja-ja-ra). Total 4351.

19. Rudrakavi: *Rāṣṭraudhavaṃśavarṇana*: (Total 1151).

Anuṣṭubh (92): II. 50; V. 26, 30; IX. 59; XI. 32; XIV. 11, 13, 14; XV. 15, 21, 30, 34, 36, 50; XVI. 45; XVIII. 1-71, 73; XX. 66, 69, 70, 80, 93. Āryā (2): II. 52; V. 17. Indravamśā (2): VII. 47; XIX. 66. Upajāti (586): I. 11-35; II. 1-45; III. 1-44; IV. 35; V. 27, 29, 31-33, 36; VI. 24, 26, 29, 32-35, 38, 39, 41; VII. 30-34; VIII. 1-50, 53, 56, 57; IX. 1-57, 60-70, 73, 74, 76, 77; X. 44, 50, 52, 53-64; XIII. 1-36; XIV. 6, 8, 15; 17-35, 46, 48, 49, 51, 60, 61; XV. 8-11, 13, 16, 19, 22, 23, 26-29, 32, 35, 37, 39, 40, 48; XVI. 1-16, 18-20, 26-33, 36-40, 42, 43; XVII. 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 32, 38; XVIII. 72, 75, 79; XIX. 1-60, 63, 65, 67, 68; XX. 1-52, 54, 55, 59, 63-65, 72-79, 81-86, 90. Gīti (1): II. 47. Totaka (3): XI. 19; XIV. 43; XV. 18. Drutavilambita (10): II. 46; XI. 2-5; XIV. 5, 12; XVII. 28; XVIII. 77; XX. 71. Puspitāgrā (9): II. 49, 55; III. 45; IV. 36; XIV. 3, 36, 64; XVII. 18, 20. Prthvī (10): I. 5, 7; VI. 43; VII. 67; XI. 31; XII. 65, 75; XIV. 52; XV. 14; XVII. 4. Pramitākṣarā (3): V. 19; XV. 6; XVII. 37. Praharṣiṇī (9): II. 51; III. 49; VIII. 51, 65; XII. 49; XIV. 40; XV. 12, 20; XX. 91. Bhujāṅgaprayāta (11): V. 7-12; XII. 32, 38; XIV. 59; XV. 33, 41. Mañjubhāsiṇī (4): XVII. 1, 14, 15, 26. Mandākṛantā (3): III. 48; IX. 72; XV. 45. Mālabbhāsiṇī (71): II. 54; V. 39; VI. 1-22, 25, 28, 31; VII. 1-28; VIII. 58, 59; IX. 71; XI. 33; XII. 41; XIV. 42; XV. 4, 7, 42, 44, 46, 52; XVI. 17; XIX. 64; XX. 67, 87. Mālinī (8): IV. 38; V. 14; VIII. 63; XII. 35; XIV. 4, 66; XV. 51; XVI. 41. Rathoddhātā (51): II. 48; IV. 1-32; V. 20, 21; VI. 23; VII. 54; XI. 38, 45; XIV. 10, 39, 41, 50, 54-56, 63; XV. 5, 31; XVI. 34, 44; XVII. 9, 31, 36; XX. 68. Vamśamālā (26): VII. 35-38, 40, 42, 43, 48, 49, 51, 53, 55, 59, 60, 62-66; IX. 75; XI. 29; XIV. 16, 38; XV. 49; XVII. 13; XIX. 69. Vamśastha (17): VI. 27; VII. 39, 41, 44-46, 52, 54, 56-58; 61; VIII. 61, 62; XI. 13; XIV. 7; XVIII. 76; Vasantatilaka (69): I. 8, 9; IV. 33, 34; V. 16, 28; VIII. 52, 55, 60, 64; XI. 7, 9, 10, 16, 23, 24, 26, 44; XII. 1-31, 40; XII. 48, 66; XIV. 1, 37, 53, 58; XV. 1, 2; XVI. 25, 35, 48, 53; XVII. 5-7; XIX. 61, 62; XX. 61, 62. Viyoginī (5): V. 22; XI. 34; XII. 42, 43; XX. 60. Śārdūlavikrīḍita (104): I. 1-4, 10, 36-38; II. 53, 56; III. 47, 50; IV. 37, 39; V. 13, 15, 18, 25, 37, 38, 41; VI. 44; VII. 29, 68; VIII. 66; IX. 58, 78, 80; X. 35, 36, 38, 39; XI. 1, 8, 11, 15, 17, 20, 22, 36, 37, 39, 46, 47; XII. 33, 36, 37, 39, 46, 51, 67-70, 72, 73, 76, 77; XIII. 38; XIV. 57, 62, 67; XV. 3, 17, 25, 38, 47, 53; XVI. 21-24, 46, 47, 50, 52, 54, 55; XVII. 3, 8, 11, 16, 17, 29, 30, 33-35, 40; XVIII. 78, 80, 81; XIX. 71; XX. 53, 56-58, 88, 95, 97-101. Śālinī (2): XII. 34; XVII. 10. Śikharinī (7): I. 6; V. 23, 24, 35, 40; XIV. 2; XVII. 23. Sragdharā (15): V. 24; IX. 79; X. 37; XI. 12; XII. 71, 74; XIII. 37; XIV. 65; XVI. 49, 51;

XVII. 39; XIX. 70; XX. 89, 94, 96. Svāgatā (24): III. 46; V. 1-6; VI. 30, 36, 37, 40, 42; XI. 35; XII. 45, 47; XIV. 9, 44, 45, 47; XV. 24; XVII. 2, 12; XVIII. 74; XX. 92. Three missing. Total 1151.

20 Lolimbarāja: *Harivilāsa*. (Total 314).

Anuṣṭubh (1); V. 88. Upajāti (50): I. 4, 6, 10, 12, 26, 27, 29; II. 14, 27, 30; III. 1, 8, 20, 21, 28, 45, 47, 48; IV. 1, 3, 10, 11, 15, 17, 20, 24, 28, 30, 32, 44, 47, 49, 58-60, 73, 74; V. 9, 16, 29, 31, 34, 35, 43, 56, 66, 76, 81, 85, 94. Kuṭaja (3): I. 16, 32; III. 34, Toṭaka (6): II. 9; III. 58; IV. 20; V. 3, 42, 96. Drutavilambita (16): I. 2, 25, 30; II. 3, 5, 25; III. 3, 40; IV. 7, 16, 18, 19, 76; V. 41, 62, 74. Puṣpitāgrā (11): I. 31; III. 41; IV. 37, 52; V. 10, 13, 14, 22, 40, 49, 92. Pṛthvī (21): I. 19, 23; II. 8; III. 10-12, 25, 44, 59, 65; IV. 12, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68, 71; V. 28, 38, 82, 89. Pramitākṣarā (2): I. 24; III. 35. Bhujaṅgaprayāta (4): III. 52; IV. 69; V. 84, 93. Mālabhāriṇī (27): I. 8; II. 6, 22, 23, 31; III. 9, 16, 26, 67; IV. 25, 29, 33, 40, 42, 43, 62, 63, 66; V. 17, 47, 52, 55, 61, 64, 79, 90, 97. Mālinī (51): I. 1, 7, 9, 11, 20, 33; II. 7, 15, 18, 20, 33, 34; III. 4, 6, 15, 31, 32, 37, 38, 42, 51, 54, 60, 61, 64, 68; IV. 4, 8, 9, 27, 38, 39, 51, 54, 72; V. 7, 11, 12, 19, 25, 32, 33, 36, 37, 57, 63, 69, 73, 78, 80, 91. Rathoddhatā (36): I. 5, 13-15, 17, 18, 21; II. 11-13, 32; III. 7, 29, 36, 43; IV. 2, 13, 14, 34, 46, 56, 57; V. 2, 4, 15, 39, 44-46, 48, 51, 53, 54, 58, 60, 71. Vamśastha (2): II. 2; III. 46. Vasantatilaka (39): I. 3, 22, 34; II. 1, 4, 10, 16, 19, 28, 35; III. 13, 14, 17, 18, 55, 56, 63, 70; IV. 21, 26, 31, 35, 45, 48, 75, 77; V. 5, 6, 8, 18, 21, 26, 50, 59, 65, 67, 68, 83, 98. Viyoginī (6): II. 26; III. 2, 22; IV. 41, 50; V. 70. Śārdūlavikrīḍita (21): II. 17, 21; III. 5, 23, 24, 30, 33, 49, 53, 57, 62, 66, 69; IV. 5, 6, 36, 53, 55; V. 30, 77, 95. Śālinī (9): I. 28; II. 24; III. 19, 50; IV. 22, 23; V. 23, 24, 27. Śragdharā (1): V. 87. Sragvinī (2): II. 29; V. 1. Svāgatā (8): III. 27, 39; V. 20, 72, 75, 86. Total 314.

21. Varāhamihira: *Brhatsamhitā* (2780); *Brhajjātaka* (412).

The figures for these two works of Varāhamihira are borrowed from Stenzler, ZDMG. 44, pp. 4-15.

22. Vīranandin: *Candraprabhacarita* (1697).

Anuṣṭubh (453): II. 1-42; XV. 1-159; XVIII. 1-151, 159. Udgatā (82): XVII. 1-82. Upajāti (114): IV. 1-74; V. 72-89; XIV. 1-19, 31; XVI. 68; XVIII. 155. Candrikā (1): XIV. 24. Jaladharamālā (1): XIV. 35. Jaloddhatagati (1): XIV. 33. Drutavilambita (62): XIII. 1-60; XIV. 21, 29. Narkuṭaka (1): X. 78. Puṣpitāgrā (65): I. 82; IV. 75; V. 90; VII. 93; IX. 1-58; XII. 111; XIV. 22, 38. Pṛthvī (3): I. 81; VII. 92; XIV. 20. Pramitākṣarā (73): V. 1-71; XIV. 23, 39. Praharsinī (78): I. 84; III. 75; X. 62-77; XI. 90; XIII. 62; XIV. 26, 40; XVI. 1-56. Bhramaravilasita (1): XIV. 30. Mandākrāntā (12): VII. 91; IX. 59; XIV. 67, 70; XV. 162; XVII. 83-89. Mālabhāriṇī (112): VI. 1-110; XIV. 25, 68. Mālinī (8): I. 80; IV. 76; VIII. 61; XI. 91; XIV. 37, 71; XV. 160; XVIII. 157. Rathoddhatā (80): VII. 1-79; XIV. 36. Rucirā (1): XIV. 69. Vamśapatrapatita (1): XIV.

28. Vamśastha (134); I. 1-63; XI. 1-71. Vasantatilaka (147): I. 85; II. 143; III. 1-74; IV. 77; VII. 80-90; VIII. 51-60; XI. 72-89; XIV. 27, 34, 41-66; XV. 161; XVII. 90; XVIII. 152. Viyoginī (187): I. 64-79; X. 1-61; XII. 1-110. Śārdūlavikrīḍita (10): IV. 78; VI. 111; VIII. 62; X. 79; XI. 92; XVII. 91; XVIII. 153, 154, 158, 160. Śālinī (13): VII. 94; VIII. 61; XIV. 32; XVI. 57-66. Śikhariṇī (3): V. 91; XVI. 67; XVIII. 156. Sragdharā (2): XVI. 69, 70. Svāgatā (50): VIII. 1-50. Hariṇī (2): I. 83; III. 76. Total 1697.

23. Śivasvāmin: *Kapphiṇābhyaṅga*. (Total 1130).

Anuṣṭubh (256): XVI. 1-128; XVIII. 1-17, 19-43, 45-61, 63, 64, 66-77, 79-81, 83-87, 89-97, 99, 101, 104-108, 110, 112-116, 118-126, 128-130, 132, 133, 135-141, 143, 145, 146, 148. Aśvalāṭita (2): VI. 56, 83 (?). Āryā (44): XIX. 1-44. Āryāgīti (4): VI. 12, 14, 34, 62 Upajāti (64): VI. 1-10, 28, 42, 50, 71; XII. 1-46; XVIII. 44, 111, 117, 144. Tūṇaka (1): VI. 80; Totaka (1): XVIII. 142. Drutavilambita (61): VI. 18, 52, 60; VIII. 1-58. Dhṛti (1): VI. 17. Narkuṭaka (37): VI. 72; XI. 1-36. Puṣpitāgrā (41): VI. 21, 45; X. 1-38; XV. 40. Prathitā (2): VI. 20, 58. Pramitākṣarā (2): VI. 23, 66. Pramuditavadanā (1): VI. 32. Praharsinī (43): II. 52; III. 1-41; VI. 35. Mañjubhāṣinī (1): VI. 33. Mattamayūra (41): VI. 25, 31, 41, 57; VII. 1-37. Mattakrīḍā (1): VI. 81-82 (one stanza). Mandākṛāntā (40): XIV. 40; XV. 1-38; XVII. 47. Mātrāsamaka (2): VI. 78, 79. Mālabhārinī (42): VI. 15, 47; XIII. 1-39; XVIII. 150. Māṇā (1): VI. 39. Mālinī (49): I. 44; II. 53; IV. 1-41; VI. 26, 63; VII. 39; IX. 40; XIX. 45; XX. 47. Rathoddhatā (1): VI. 69. Rucirā (40): VI. 68; IX. 1-39. Vamśapatrapatita (1): VI. 73. Vamśamālā (1): XVIII. 134. Vamśastha (54): II. 1-51; VI. 11; XVIII. 82, 131. Vasantatilaka (67): I. 1-43, V. 50; VI. 13, 16, 19, 22, 24, 27, 29, 40, 43; VI. 46, 49, 55, 65, 75; VII. 38; VIII. 59; X. 39, 40; XIII. 40; XVIII. 65, 98, 109, 127. Vāṇinī (1): VI. 53. Vidyumālā (1): XVIII. 78. Viyoginī (50): V. 1-49; VI. 30. Vaiśvadevī (1): XX. 45. Śārdūlavikrīḍita (8): V. 51; VI. 36, 70; XI. 37; XVIII. 62, 147, 149; XX. 46. Śālinī (47): VI. 37, 44; XVI. 130; XX. 1-44. Śikhariṇī (1): VI. 61. Sragdharā (15): III. 42, 43; IV. 42; VI. 48, 84; VIII. 60; XV. 39; XVI. 129; XVII. 57; XVIII. 18, 88, 100, 102, 103, 151. Sragvinī (1): VI. 38. Svāgatā (57): VI. 67; XVII. 1-56. Hariṇī (40): VI. 54; XIV. 1-39. One unnamed. VI. 51 (ma-bha-na-ya-ga = Haravijaya, V. 35); Five irregular; VI. 59, 64, 74, 76, 77. Total 1130.

24. Śrīharṣa: *Naiṣadhīyacarita* (Total 2828).

I have borrowed the figures of occurrences for this poem from Stenzler, ZDMG., 44, p. 30.

25. Someśvara: *Kīrtikaumudī*. (Total 722.)

Anuṣṭubh (419): I. 1-76; II. 1-81; III. 1-50; IV. 1, 41; V. 1-62; VII. 1-53; VIII. 1-56. Upajāti (174): I. 77, 78; II. 82-103; V. 65; VI. 1-55; VII. 54-72; 75, 77; IX. 1-73. Drutavilambita (2): VII. 74, 79. Puṣpitāgrā (18): I. 79; III. 79; IV. 91; VII. 76, 80, 81; VIII. 57-68. Praharsinī (3): VI. 56; VII. 78; VIII.



70. Mālabhārīnī (48): IV. 42-88; VII. 73. Mālinī (3): I. 80; II. 115; III. 78. Rathoddhatā (23); III. 51-73. Vamśastha (1): III. 76. Vasantatilaka (19): II. 104-114; IV. 89; V. 63, 64, 66, 67; IX. 74-76. Śārdūlavikrīḍita (7): I. 81; IV. 90; VII. 82, 83; VIII. 71; IX. 77, 78. Śālinī (3): III. 74, 75; VIII. 69. Śikharīnī (1): III. 77. Hariṇī (1): V. 68. Total 722.

26. Haricandra: *Dharmaśarmābhhyudaya*. Total 1765.

Anuṣṭubh (350): III. 1-73; XIX. 1-95; XXI. 1-182. Indravamśā (1): X. 33. Upajāti (461): I. 1-84; IV. 1-91; VII. 1-66; X. 1-9, 12, 14, 16, 20, 27, 32, 36, 48, 50, 54, 55; XI. 65-70; XIV. 1-82; XVII. 1-108; XXII. 4-7. Ekarūpa (1): X. 45; Toṭaka (1): XIX. 96. Dodhaka (1): X. 24. Drutavilambita (70): II. 76; III. 75; IV. 92; X. 22, 37; XI. 1-64, 71. Puṣpitāgrā (69): XIII. 1-69. Pṛthvī (4): IV. 93; X. 17, 35; XII. 62. Pramitākṣarā (1): X. 42. Praharsinī (85): X. 28, 29; XVI. 1-83. Bhujāṅgaprayāta (2): X. 21, 25. Mandākrāntā (5): VIII. 57; X. 10, 34; XII. 63; XIV. 83. Mālinī (65): I. 85; V. 90; VI. 53; VIII. 1-55; X. 11, 38; XI. 72; XIII. 70; XIX. 103; XX. 101; XXI. 185. Rathoddhatā (86): V. 1-86. Vamśamālā (79): IX. 1-78; X. 30. Vamśastha (208): II. 1-74; X. 15, 18, 23, 26, 39, 41, 44, 47, 56; XII. 1-60; XVIII. 1-65. Vasantatilaka (72): I. 86; V. 87; VI. 1-51; X. 13, 19, 25, 31, 40, 43, 46, 49, 52, 53; XV. 70; XVI. 88; XVII. 109; XIX. 97-99; XXII. 1, 2, 8. Viyoginī (1): XIX. 100. Śārdūlavikrīḍita (27): II. 75, 77, 79; III. 74, 76; V. 88, 89; VI. 52; VII. 6, 68; IX. 80; X. 57; XII. 61; XIII. 71; XIV. 84; XVI. 85-87; XVII. 110; XVIII. 66; XIX. 101, 104; XXI. 183, 184; XXII. 3, 9, 10. Śālinī (101): II. 78; XX. 1-100. Śikharīnī (2): III. 77; XVI. 84. Sragvinī (1): XIX. 102. Svāgatā (69): XV. 1-69; Hariṇī (3): VIII. 56; IX. 79; XVIII. 67. Total 1765.

27. Halāyudha: *Kavirahasya*. Total 299+6=305.

Anuṣṭubh (230): 1, 2, 4-6, 45-56, 83-136, 140-298. Āryā (2): 17, 82. Indravamśā (2): 35, 79. Upajāti (4): 3, 29, 69, 80. Drutavilambita (1): 299. Mandākrāntā (3): 20, 32, 137. Mālabhārīnī (5): 37, 74, 75, 76; Sr. 50. Mālinī (4): 42, 73; Sr. 15, 17. Rathoddhatā (2): 36, 72. Vamśamālā (3): 13, 81; Sr. 51. Vasantatilaka (33): 7, 8, 12, 14, 16, 19, 23, 24, 25, 30, 31, 38, 39, 41, 44, 58-68, 70, 71, 77, 78, 138, 139; Sr. 20. Śārdūlavikrīḍita (13): 9, 11, 15, 18, 19, 22, 26, 27, 28, 34, 43, 57; Sr. 10. Śikharīnī (1): 40. Sragdharā (1): 21. Hariṇī (1): 33. Total 299 + 6 Sr. = 305 (Sr. = Shorter Recension).

28. Hemacandra; *Dvyāśrayakāvya*. Total 2430.

Anuṣṭubh (1417) I. 1-196; III. 1-158; V. 1-141; VII. 1-141; IX. 1-166; XI. 1-117; XIII. 1-108; XIV. 1-117; XVII. 1-137; XIX. 1-136. Indravamśā (4): XVIII. 81, 85, 99; XX. 30. Upajāti (527): II. 1-107; VI. 1-105; VIII. 125; IX. 167, 172; X. 1-85; XII. 73, 76; XIV. 1-71; XVI. 1-94; XVIII. 8, 9, 13, 15, 18, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 38, 43, 49, 58, 60, 62, 68, 70, 73, 74, 86, 90, 92, 93, 94, 98, 103. XX. 3, 6, 10, 12, 14, 15, 23, 24, 28, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 45, 47, 48, 58, 59, 68,

72-75, 77, 83, 84, 86, 94, 101. *Aupacchandāsika* (99); IV. 1-90; XV. 124; XVIII. 23, 40, 89; XX. 60, 71, 79, 80, 81. *Aupacchandāsika-Aparāntikā* (9): XII. 77; XVIII. 12, 29, 51, 54, 66, 104; XX. 63, 82. *Kekirava* (78): XII. 1-72; XVIII. 47, 48, 87, 101; XX. 51, 61. *Kola* (1): XX. 4. *Dodhaka* (1): XX. 69. *Drutavilambita* (2): XVIII. 39, 53. *Puṣpitāgrā* (2): XVIII. 37; XX. 96. *Prthvī* (1): II. 110. *Mañjubhāṣinī* (4): XVI. 97; XVIII. 11, 35, 36. *Mattamayūra* (2): II. 109; XVIII. 44. *Mandākrāntā* (3); XX. 5, 89, 90. *Mṛdaṅga* (1): XVIII. 102. *Rathoddbatā* (11): IV. 93; XVIII. 33, 42, 52, 91; XX. 8, 16, 46, 57, 62, 67. *Rucirā* (1): XV. 123. *Varṇsamālā* (19): XVIII. 17, 45, 56, 57, 59, 63, 67, 80, 83, 97, 100; XX. 7, 9, 22, 26, 43, 44, 65, 70. *Vasantatilaka* (48): I. 197, 198; II. 108; III. 160; VI. 106; VII. 142; X. 87; XI. 118; XII. 80, 81; XIII. 109, 110; XIV. 72; XVII. 138; XVIII. 19, 20, 31, 34, 50, 61, 78, 82, 84, 88, 95, 105, 106; XIX. 137; XX. 1, 2, 11, 13, 17, 18, 20, 21, 27, 31, 32, 40, 49, 66, 87, 88, 95, 97, 99, 100. *Vaitālīya* (2): I. 199; XX. 41. *Vaiśvadevī* (14): IX. 169; XII. 78, 79; XIV. 73; XVIII. 10, 16, 41, 55, 75; XX. 33, 55, 78, 91, 93. *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* (12): I. 200, 201; III. 159; IV. 94; V. 142; IX. 168; X. 88; XIV. 74; XVIII. 79; XX. 92, 98, 102. *Śālinī* (35): VIII. 1-20; IX. 170, 171; X. 86; XII. 74, 75; XVI. 95, 96; XVIII. 46, 64, 77; XX. 19, 52, 54, 76, 85. *Śikharinī* (3): VI. 107; XV. 122; XVIII. 25. *Sudanta* (5): X. 89, 90; XVIII. 71, 72, 96. *Sragvinī* (4): IV. 91, 92; XVIII. 65, 69; *Svāgatā* (115): VIII. 21-120; XVIII. 1-6, 14, 76; XX. 25, 29, 37, 50, 53, 56, 64. *Harinī* (4): VIII. 121-124. Total 2426; 4 missing.

## APPENDIX II

### I. A Chronological List of the Poets.

- 1 *Aśvaghoṣa* (2nd century A. D.): *Buddhacarita*: 1033 stanzas; 14 cantos; 9 metres. *Saundarananda*: 1063 stanzas; 18 cantos; 20 metres.
- 2 *Kālidāsa* (4th century): *Raghuvamśa*: 1545 stanzas; 19 cantos; 16 metres. *Kumārasambhava*: 1113 stanzas; 13 cantos; 13 metres.
- 3 *Buddhaghōṣa* (5th century): *Padyacūḍāmaṇi*: 641 stanzas; 10 cantos; 12 metres.
- 4 *Bhāravi* (6th century, 1st half): *Kirātārjunīya*: 1041 stanzas; 18 cantos; 24 metres.
- 5 *Varāhamihira* (6th century, 2nd half): *Brhatsamhitā*: 2780 stanzas; 104 cantos; 63 metres. *Brhajjātaka*: 412 stanzas; 28 cantos; 33 metres.
- 6 *Bhaṭṭi* (7th century, 1st half): *Bhaṭṭikāvya*: 1625 stanzas; 22 cantos; 23 metres.
- 7 *Bhaumaka* (7th century, 1st half): *Rāvaṇārjunīya*: 1545 stanzas; 27 cantos; 26 metres.
- 8 *Māgha* (7th century, 2nd half): *Śiśupālavadha*: 1677 stanzas; 20 cantos; 41 metres.

- 9 Kumāradāsa (8th century, 2nd half): *Jānakīharana*: 1064 stanzas; 15 cantos; 15 metres.
- 10 Ratnākara (9th century, 2nd half): *Haravijaya*: 4351 stanzas; 50 cantos; 48 metres.
- 11 Śivasvāmin (9th century, 2nd half): *Kap̐hinābhyudaya*: 1130 stanzas; 20 cantos; 46 metres.
- 12 Dhanañjaya (10th century): *Dvisaṁdhāna*: 1106 stanzas; 18 cantos; 31 metres.
- 13 Haricandra (10th century, 1st half): *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya*: 1765 stanzas; 22 cantos; 25 metres.
- 14 Halāyudha (10th century, 1st half): *Kavirahasya*: 299 stanzas; 15 metres.
- 15 Vīranandin (10th century, 2nd half): *Candraprabhacarita*: 1697 stanzas; 18 cantos; 28 metres.
- 16 Lolimbarāja (11th century, 1st half): *Harivilāsa*: 314 stanzas; 5 cantos; 20 metres.
- 17 Padmagupta (11th century, 1st half): *Navasahasāṅkacarita*: 1535 stanzas; 18 cantos; 19 metres.
- 18 Kṣemendra (11th century, 2nd half): *Samayamātrkā*: 638 stanzas; 8 cantos; 15 metres. *Dasāvātāracarita*: 1759 stanzas; 10 cantos; 11 metres.
- 19 Bilhaṇa (11th century, 2nd half): *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*: 1651 stanzas; 18 cantos; 16 metres.
- 20 Maṅkha (12th century, 1st half): *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*: 1648 stanzas; 25 cantos; 24 metres.
- 21 Śrīharṣa (12th century, 2nd half): *Naiṣadhīya*: 2828 stanzas; 22 cantos; 19 metres.
- 22 Kavirāja (12th century, 2nd half): *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*: 668 stanzas; 13 cantos; 22 metres.
- 23 Hemacandra (12th century, 2nd half): *Dvyaśraya*: 2430 stanzas; 20 cantos; 28 metres.
- 24 Someśvara (13th century, 1st half): *Kīrtikaumudī*: 722 stanzas; 9 cantos; 14 metres.
- 25 Amaracandra (13th century, middle): *Bālabhārata*: 5482 stanzas; 19 cantos; 23 metres.
- 26 Bālacandra (13th century, 2nd half): *Vasantavilāsa*: 1007 stanzas; 14 cantos; 25 metres.
- 27 Kṛṣṇānanda (13th century, end): *Sahyodayānanda*: 944 stanzas; 15 cantos; 21 metres.
- 28 Rudrakavi (16th century, 2nd half): *Rāṣṭraudhavamśavarṇana*: 1151 stanzas; 20 cantos; 26 metres.



## II. An Alphabetical List of Metres used for continued narration.

*The figures after the names indicate the total number of cantos in which the metre is used.*

- 1 Anuṣṭubh: Amaracandra 14; Aśvaghoṣa 11; Kālidāsa 10; Kumāradāsa 3; Kṛṣṇānanda 1; Dhanañjaya 3; Padmagupta 4; Bālacandra 1; Bilhaṇa 1; Buddhaghoṣa 1; Bhaṭṭi 15; Bhāravi 2; Bhaumaka 6; Maṅkha 2; Māgha 2; Ratnākara 2; Rudra 1; Vīranandin 3; Śivasvāmin 1; Śrīharṣa 2; Someśvara 7; Haricandra 3; Hemacandra 10.
- 2 Aparavaktra: Maṅkha 1.
- 3 Āryā: Amaracandra 1; Varāhamihira 10; Śivasvāmin 1.
- 4 Āryāgīti: Bhaṭṭi 1.
- 5 Udgatā: Aśvaghoṣa 1; Dhanañjaya 1; Padmagupta 1; Bhāravi 1; Maṅkha 1; Māgha 1; Vīranandin 1.
- 6 Upajāti: Amaracandra 13; Aśvaghoṣa 16; Kālidāsa 15; Kumāradāsa 3; Kṛṣṇānanda 4; Dhanañjaya 3; Padmagupta 4; Bālacandra 4; Bilhaṇa 6; Buddhaghoṣa 5; Bhaṭṭi 4; Bhāravi 3; Maṅkha 4; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 3; Rudra 1; Śivasvāmin 1; Śrīharṣa 7; Someśvara 2; Haricandra 5; Hemacandra 4.
- 7 Aupacchandasika: Hemacandra 1.
- 8 Kekirava: Hemacandra 1.
- 9 Drutavilambita: Amaracandra 1; Kālidāsa 1; Kumāradāsa 1; Kṛṣṇānanda 2; Bālacandra 1; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 1; Vīranandin 1; Śivasvāmin 1; Śrīharṣa 1; Haricandra 1.
- 10 Narkuṭaka: Śivasvāmin 1.
- 11 Puṣpitāgrā: Dhanañjaya 1; Padmagupta 1; Bilhaṇa 1; Bhāravi 1; Maṅkha 1; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 1; Vīranandin 1; Śivasvāmin 1; Haricandra 1.
- 12 Pramitākṣarā: Amaracandra 1; Kumāradāsa 1; Dhanañjaya 1; Bhāravi 1; Maṅkha 1; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 1; Vīranandin 1.
- 13 Praharṣinī: Dhanañjaya 1; Bhāravi 1; Maṅkha 1; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 1; Vīranandin 1; Śivasvāmin 1; Haricandra 1.
- 14 Mañjubhāṣinī: Amaracandra 1; Padmagupta 1; Maṅkha 1; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 1.
- 15 Mattamayūra: Dhanañjaya 1; Śivasvāmin 1.
- 16 Mandākrāntā: Bilhaṇa 1; Maṅkha 1; Śivasvāmin 1.
- 17 Mālabhārīnī: Aśvaghoṣa 1; Kṛṣṇānanda 1; Padmagupta 1; Bhāravi 1; Maṅkha 1; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 1; Rudra 1; Vīranandin 1; Śivasvāmin 1; Someśvara 1.

- 18 Mālinī: Amarcandra 1; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 1; Śivasvāmin 1; Haricandra 1.
- 19 Rathoddhatā; Āmaracandra 3; Kālidāsa 3; Kṛṣṇānanda 1; Padmagupta 1; Bālcandra 2; Bilhaṇa 2; Bhāravi 1; Maṅkha 1; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 1; Rudra 1. Vīranandin 1; Śrīharṣa 1; Haricandra 1.
- 20 Rucirā: Dhanañjaya 1; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 1; Śivasvāmin 1.
- 21 Lalitā: Amarcandra 1.
- 22 Vamśamālā (mixture of Vamśastha and Indravamśā): Bālacandra 1; Haricandra 1.
- 23 Vamśastha: Amarcandra 1; Aśvaghoṣa 2; Kālidāsa 4; Kṛṣṇānanda 3; Dhanañjaya 2; Padmagupta 3; Bālacandra 1; Bilhaṇa 3; Buddhaghōṣa 1; Bhāravi 4; Maṅkha 2; Māgha 2; Ratnākara 1; Vīranandin 2; Śivasvāmin 1; Śrīharṣa 5; Haricandra 3.
- 24 Vasantatilaka: Amarcandra 2; Kālidāsa 1; Kṛṣṇānanda 2; Padmagupta 1; Buddhaghōṣa 3; Maṅkha 3; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 25; Rudra 1; Vīranandin 1; Śivasvāmin 1; Śrīharṣa 2; Haricandra 1.
- 25 Viyoginī: Amarcandra 2; Aśvaghoṣa 1; Kālidāsa 2; Kṛṣṇānanda 1; Dhanañjaya 1; Padmagupta 1; Bilhaṇa 1; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 1; Vīranandin 2; Śivasvāmin 1; Śrīharṣa 1.
- 26 Śārdūlavikrīḍita: Bālacandra 1.
- 27 Śālinī: Māgha 1; Ratnākara 1; Śivasvāmin 1; Haricandra 1.
- 28 Svāgatā: Amarcandra 4; Bālacandra 1; Bilhaṇa 1; Bhāravi 1; Māgha 1; Vīranandin 1; Śivasvāmin 1; Śrīharṣa 2; Haricandra 1; Hemacandra 1.
- 29 Hariṇī: Śivasvāmin 1; Śrīharṣa 1.

### III. An Alphabetical List of all Metres employed by the poets.

*The figures indicate the total number of occurrences. For fuller definitions of metres, consult Jayadāman (s. Intro., para 5).*

- 1 Anuṣṭubh: Amarcandra 2292; Aśvaghoṣa 681; Kavirāja 109; Kālidāsa 813; Kumāradāsa 212; Kṛṣṇānanda 80; Kṣemendra 1456; Dhanañjaya 288; Padmagupta 454; Bālacandra 52; Bilhaṇa 214; Buddhaghōṣa 82; Bhaṭṭi 1206; Bhāravi 125; Bhaumaka 339; Maṅkha 203; Māgha 232; Ratnākara 500; Rudra 92; Lolimbarāja 1; Varāhamihira 268; Vīranandin 453; Śivasvāmin 256; Śrīharṣa 376; Someśvara 419; Haricandra 350; Halāyudha 230; Hemacandra 1417.
- 2 Acaladhṛti (na-na-na-na-na-la): Śrīharṣa 1.
- 3 Anavasitā (na-yā-bhā-ga-ga): Varāhamihira 3.

- 4 Aparavaktra (*na-na-ra-la-ga; na-ja-ja-ra*): Āśvaghoṣa 1; Kavirāja 1; Dhanañjaya 14; Bhāravi 1; Bhaumaka 1; Mañkha 36; Varāhamihira 10.
- 5 Āśvalalita (*na-ja-bha-ja-bha-ja-bha-la-ga*): Bhaṭṭi 1; Ratnākara 4; Śivasvāmin 2.
- 6 Āryā: Amaracandra 64; Kṣemendra 115; Bhaṭṭi 2; Mañkha 3; Ratnākara 1; Rudra 2; Varāhamihira 1750; Śivasvāmin 44; Halāyudha 2.
- 7 Āryāgīti-Skandhaka: Bhaṭṭi 47; Māgha 2; Ratnākara 2; Varāhamihira 1; Śivasvāmin 4.
- 8 Indravamśā (*ta-ta-ja-ra*): Dhanañjaya 1; Bhaumaka 3; Rudra 2; Varāhamihira 1; Haricandra 1; Halāyudha 2; Hemacandra 4.
- 9 Utthāpanī (*ta-bha-ja-la-ga*): Amaracandra 3.
- 10 Utsara: See Sundara.
- 11 Udgatā (*sa-ja-sa-la; na-sa-ja-ga; bha-na-ja-la-ga; sa-ja-sa-ja-ga*): Āśvaghoṣa 41; Dhanañjaya 39; Padmagupta 69; Bhāravi 54; Mañkha 45; Māgha 128; Varāhamihira 1; Vīranandin 82.
- 12 Udgīti: Kṣemendra 1.
- 13 Upagīti: Varāhamihira 3.
- 14 Upajāti (Mixture of Indravajrā and Upendravajrā): Amaracandra 1265; Āśvaghoṣa 951; Kavirāja 284; Kālidāsa 1031; Kumāradāsa 211; Kṛṣṇānanda 275; Kṣemendra 437; Dhanañjaya 247; Padmagupta 316; Bilhana 583; Buddhaghōṣa 346; Bhaṭṭi 271; Bhāravi 176; Bhaumaka 730; Mañkha 224; Māgha 108; Ratnākara 310; Rudra 586; Lolimbarāja 50; Varāhamihira 337; Vīranandin 114; Śivasvāmin 64; Śrīharṣa 805; Someśvara 174; Haricandra 461; Halāyudha 4; Hemacandra 527.
- 15 Upajāti (Mixture of Indravamśā and Vamśastha): See Vamśamālā.
- 16 Ekarūpa (*sa-sa-ja-ga*): Haricandra 1.
- 17 Aupacchandāsika (6, *ra-ya*; 8, *ra-ya*): Varāhamihira 33; Hemacandra 99.
- 18 Aupacchandāsika-Aparāntikā: Hemacandra 9.
- 19 Kalahamśa: See Kuṭaja.
- 20 Kuṭaja (*sa-ja-sa-sa-ga*): Māgha 1; Lolimbarāja 3.
- 21 Kusumavicitrā (*na-ya-na-ya*): Varāhamihira 3.
- 22 Kusumitalatāvellitā (*ma-ta-na-ya-ya-ya*): Āśvaghoṣa 1.
- 23 Kṛtoddhata (*ma-sa-sa-ga*): Varāhamihira 5.
- 24 Kekirava (*sa-ya-sa-ya*) Hemacandra 78.
- 25 Kokilaka: See Narkuṭaka.



- 26 Kola (*ja-sa-sa-ya*): Hemacandra 1.
- 27 Kṣamā: See Candrikā.
- 28 Gīti: Kṣemendra 14; Rudra 1; Varāhamihira 3.
- 29 Caṇḍavṛṣṭiprapāta (A Daṇḍaka): Ratnākara 1.
- 30 Candrikā (*na-na-ta-ta-ga*): Bhāravi 1; Vīranandin 1.
- 31 Citralekhā (*sa-sa-ja-bha-ja-ga-ga*): Māgha 1.
- 32 Jaladharamālā (*ma-bha-sa-ma*): Dhanañjaya 5; Bhāravi 1; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 4; Vīranandin 1.
- 33 Jaloddhatagati (*ja-sa-ja-sa*): Dhanañjaya 1; Bhāravi 1; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 2; Vīranandin 1.
- 34 Tanumadhyā (*ta-ya*): Bhaṭṭi 2.
- 35 Tāmarasa (*na-ja-ja-ya*): Varāhamihira 4.
- 36 Tūṇaka (*ra-ja-ra-ja-ra*): Ratnākara 1; Śivasvāmin 1; Varāhamihira 1.
- 37 Toṭaka (*sa-sa-sa-sa*): Kālidāsa 1; Dhanañjaya 2; Bhaṭṭi 3; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 1; Rudra 1; Lolimbarāja 6; Varāhamihira 9; Śivasvāmin 1; Haricandra 1.
- 38 Daṇḍaka: Varāhamihira 5. See also Caṇḍavṛṣṭiprapāta.
- 39 Dodhaka (*bha-bha-bha-ga-ga*): Kṣemendra 1; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 1; Varāhamihira 22; Śrīharṣa 1; Haricandra 1; Hemacandra 1.
- 40 Drutapada (*na-bha-ja-ya*): Varāhamihira 2.
- 41 Drutavilambita (*na-bha-bha-ra*): Amaracandra 56; Kavirāja 5; Kālidāsa 56; Kṛṣṇānanda 73; Kṣemendra 2; Dhanañjaya 8; Bhaṭṭi 5; Bhāravi 33; Bhaumaka 7; Māgha 71; Ratnākara 103; Rudra 10; Lolimbarāja 16; Varāhamihira 8; Vīranandin 62; Śivasvāmin 61; Śrīharṣa 116; Someśvara 2; Haricandra 70; Halāyudha 1; Hemacandra 2.
- 42 Dvipathaka = Dohā (13; 12): Maṅkha 13.
- 43 Dhīralalita (*bha-ra-na-ra-na-ga*): Varāhamihira 1.
- 44 Dhṛtaśrī: See Siddhi.
- 45 Dhṛti: See Pramadā.
- 46 Nandana (*na-ja-bha-ja-ra-ra*): Bhaṭṭi 1.
- 47 Narkuṭaka (*na-ja-bha-ja-ja-la-ga*): Kumāradāsa 6; Varāhamihira 5; Vīranandin 1; Śivasvāmin 37.
- 47a Nardaka: See Narkuṭaka.
- 48 Nārāca: See Mahāmālikā.
- 49 Pādākulaka: See Mātrāsamaka.

- 50 Puṭa (*na-na-ma-ya*): Varāhamihira 1.
- 51 Puṇḍarika (*ma-bha-ra-ya*): Bhaumaka 3.
- 52 Puṣpitaḡrā (*na-na-ra-ya; na-ja-ja-ra-ga*): Amaracandra 7; Āśvaghoṣa 31; Kavirāja 5; Kālidāsa 8; Kumāradāsa 12; Kṛṣṇānanda 6; Dhanañjaya 38; Padmagupta 78; Bilhaṇa 101; Buddhaghoṣa 1; Bhaṭṭi 35; Bhāravi 69; Bhaumaka 21; Maṅkha 64; Māgha 78; Ratnākara 164; Rudra 9; Lolimbarāja 11; Varāhamihira 23; Vīranandin 65; Śrīharsa 19; Someśvara 18; Haricandra 69; Hemacandra 2.
- 53 Pṛthvi (*ja-sa-ja-sa-ya-la-ga*): Amaracandra 3; Kavirāja 3; Kṛṣṇānanda 2; Kṣemendra 2; Dhanañjaya 1; Bilhaṇa 2; Bhaṭṭi 1; Bhaumaka 1; Maṅkha 6; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 2; Rudra 10; Lolimbarāja 21; Varāhamihira 5; Vīranandin 3; Śrīharsa 1; Haricandra 4; Hemacandra 1.
- 54 Prathitā (*sa-ja-sa-ya-la-ga*): Māgha 1; Ratnākara 1; Śivasvāmin 2.
- 55 Prajñāmūla (*ma-bha-na-ya-ga*): Ratnākara 1; Śivasvāmin 1. See Vāgvallabha, p. 191.
- 56 Prabhā (*na-na-ra-ra*): Bhāravi 6; Māgha 1.
- 57 Prabhāvati (*ta-bha-ṣa-ja-ga*): Varāhamihira 2.
- 58 Pramadā (*na-ja-bha-ja-la-ga*): Māgha 1; Śivasvāmin 1.
- 59 Pramāṇikā (*ja-ra-la-ga*): Ratnākara 1; Varāhamihira 11.
- 60 Pramitākṣarā (*sa-ja-sa-sa*): Amaracandra 95; Kavirāja 1; Dhanañjaya 51; Padmagupta 1; Bhaṭṭi 4; Bhāravi 51; Bhaumaka 2; Maṅkha 41; Māgha 83; Ratnākara 54; Rudra 3; Lolimbarāja 2; Varāhamihira 1; Vīranandin 73; Śivasvāmin 2; Haricandra 1.
- 61 Pramuditavadanā (*na-na-ra-ra*): Dhanañjaya 2; Ratnākara 2; Śivasvāmin 1.
- 62 Praharanākalikā (*na-na-bha-na-la-ga*): Bhaṭṭi 2.
- 63 Praharṣiṇī (*ma-na-ja-ra-ga*): Amaracandra 12; Āśvaghoṣa 7; Kavirāja 12; Kālidāsa 6; Kumāradāsa 4; Kṛṣṇānanda 4; Dhanañjaya 29; Bilhaṇa 1; Bhaṭṭi 9; Bhāravi 50; Bhaumaka 14; Maṅkha 59; Māgha 77; Ratnākara 126; Rudra 9; Varāhamihira 16; Vīranandin 78; Śivasvāmin 43; Someśvara 3; Haricandra 85.
- 64 Bhadrīkā (*na-na-ra-la-ga*): Ratnākara 1; Varāhamihira 1.
- 65 Prasabha: See Bhadrīkā.
- 66 Bhujaṅgaprayāta (*ya-ya-ya-ya*): Rudra 11; Lolimbarāja 4; Varāhamihira 1; Haricandra 2.
- 67 Bhujaṅgaviṣṇubhita (*ma-ma-ta-na-na-na-ra-ṣa-la-ga*): Varāhamihira 1.
- 68 Bhramaravilasita (*ma-bha-na-la-ga*): Bhaumaka 1; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 1; Varāhamihira 2; Vīranandin 1.

- 69 Maṅgalamāṅgaṇā (*na-bha-ja-ja-ja-ga*): Ratnākara 1.
- 70 Mañjarī: See Prathitā.
- 71 Mañjubhāṣiṇī (*sa-ja-sa-ja-ga*): Amaracandra 124; Kavirāja 1; Kālidāsa 1; Kṛṣṇānanda 5; Padmagupta 64; Bhaumaka 1; Mañkha 57; Māgha 69; Ratnākara 203; Rudra 4; Varāhamihira 1; Śivasvāmin 1; Hemacandra 4.
- 72 Maṇiguṇanikara (*na-na-na-na-sa*): Ratnākara 1; Varāhamihira 1.
- 73 Mattamayūra (*ma-ta-ya-sa-ga*): Kṛṣṇānanda 1; Dhanañjaya 34; Bhāravi 1; Māgha 2; Ratnākara 5; Varāhamihira 1; Śivasvāmin 41; Hemacandra 2.
- 74 Mattā (*ma-bha-sa-ga*) Varāhamihira 1.
- 75 Mattākrīḍa (*ma-ma-ta-na-na-na-na-la-ga*): Śivasvāmin 1.
- 76 Madhyakṣamā (*ma-bha-na-ya-ga-ga*): Bhāravi 1.
- 77 Mandākrāntā (*ma-bha-na-ta-ta-ga-ga*): Amaracandra 11; Kavirāja 21; Kālidāsa 135; Kṛṣṇānanda 5; Kṣemendra 24; Dhanañjaya 2; Padmagupta 1; Bilhaṇa 111; Buddhaghōṣa 1; Bhaṭṭi 2; Mañkha 72; Māgha 3; Ratnākara 8; Rudra 3; Varāhamihira 19; Viranandin 12; Śivasvāmin 40; Śrīharṣa 5; Haricandra 5; Halāyudha 3; Hemacandra 3.
- 78 Mahāmālikā (*na-na-ra-ra-ra-ra*): Kālidāsa 1; Padmagupta 1; Māgha 1.
- 79 Mātrāsamaka (A Mātrā Vṛtta: 16×4): Śivasvāmin 2.
- 80 Mālatī (*na-ja-ja-ra*): Varāhamihira 1.
- 81 Mālabhāriṇī (*sa-sa-ja-ga-ga*; *sa-bha-ra-ya*): Amaracandra 13; Āśva-ghoṣa 78; Kavirāja 15; Kālidāsa 2; Kṛṣṇānanda 64; Dhanañjaya 8; Padmagupta 81; Bilhaṇa 3; Buddhaghōṣa 3; Bhaṭṭi 7; Bhāravi 36; Bhaumaka 55; Mañkha 58; Māgha 83; Ratnākara 80; Rudra 71; Lolimbarāja 27; Viranandin 112; Someśvara 48; Śivasvāmin 42; Halāyudha 5.
- 82 Mālā (*na-na-na-sa-sa*): Śivasvāmin 1.
- 83 Mālinī (*na-na-ma-ya-ya*): Amaracandra 17; Āśvaghōṣa 2; Kavirāja 45; Kālidāsa 54; Kumāradāsa 2; Kṛṣṇānanda 9; Kṣemendra 24; Dhanañjaya 5; Padmagupta 3; Bilhaṇa 34; Buddhaghōṣa 3; Bhaṭṭi 9; Bhāravi 13; Bhaumaka 16; Mañkha 21; Māgha 72; Ratnākara 107; Rudra 53; Lolimbarāja 51; Varāhamihira 36; Viranandin 8; Śrīharṣa 21; Someśvara 61; Śivasvāmin 49; Haricandra 65; Halāyudha 4.
- 84 Mrdaṅga (*ta-bha-ja-ja-ra*): Hemacandra 1.
- 85 Meghavitāna (*sa-sa-sa-ga*): Varāhamihira 1.
- 86 Meghavisphūrjitā (*ya-ma-na-sa-ra-ra-ga*): Varāhamihira 1.
- 87 Moṭanaka (*ta-ja-ja-la-ga*): Varāhamihira 1.
- 88 Mauktikamālā (*bha-ta-na-ga-ga*): Dhanañjaya 4.



- 89 Rathoddhatā (*ra-na-ra-la-ga*): Amaracandra 298; Kavirāja 27; Kālidāsa 238; Kumāradāsa 92; Kṛṣṇānanda 35; Dhanañjaya 23; Padmagupta 80; Bilhaṇa 154; Buddhaghōṣa 1; Bhāravi 38; Bhaumaka 25; Mañkha 86; Māgha 86; Ratnākara 64; Rudra 55; Lolimbarāja 36; Varāhamihira 64; Viranandin 80; Śivasvāmin 1; Śrīharṣa 155; Someśvara 23; Haricandra 86; Halāyudha 2; Hemacandra 11.
- 90 Rukmavati (*bha-ma-sa-ga*): Bhaumaka 1; Varāhamihira 2.
- 91 Rucirā (*ja-bha-sa-ja-ga*): Āśvaghoṣa 4; Kavirāja 25; Kṛṣṇānanda 1; Dhanañjaya 29; Bhaṭṭi 1; Bhaumaka 1; Mañkha 1; Māgha 68; Ratnākara 56; Varāhamihira 3; Viranandin 1; Śivasvāmin 40; Hemacandra 1.
- 92 Lakṣmī: See Prabhāvatī.
- 93 Lalitapada: See Tāmarasa.
- 94 Lalitā (*ta-bha-ja-ra*): Amaracandra 156.
- 95 Lalitā (*bha-ra-na-ra-na-ga*): Varāhamihira 1.
- 96 Vamśapatrapatita (*bha-ra-na-bha-na-la-ga*): Dhanañjaya 1; Bhāravi 1; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 2; Śivasvāmin 1; Varāhamihira 1; Viranandin 1.
- 97 Vamśamālā (Mixture of Indravamśā and Vamśastha); Rudra 26; Śivasvāmin 1; Halāyudha 3; Haricandra 79; Hemacandra 19.
- 98 Vamśastha (*ja-ta-ja-ra*): Amaracandra 93; Āśvaghoṣa 201; Kavirāja 40; Kālidāsa 305; Kumāradāsa 133; Kṛṣṇānanda 182; Kṣemendra 24; Dhanañjaya 104; Padmagupta 201; Bilhaṇa 237; Buddhaghōṣa 67; Bhaṭṭi 6; Bhāravi 214; Bhaumaka 102; Mañkha 122; Māgha 152; Ratnākara 139; Rudra 17; Lolimbarāja 2; Varāhamihira 36; Viranandin 134; Śivasvāmin 54; Śrīharṣa 561; Someśvara 1; Haricandra 208.
- 99 Vaktra (*bha-ma-ma*); Varāhamihira 2 (Samhitā 69, 12; Jātaka 11, 9).
- 100 Varatanu: See Mālatī.
- 101 Vardhamāna (a kind of Udgatā): Āśvaghoṣa 2 (Saudarananda, II. 64, 65).
- 102 Vasanta (*na-na-ta-ta-ga-ga*): Ratnākara 1.
- 103 Vasantatilaka (*ta-bha-ja-ja-ga-ga*): Amaracandra 251; Āśvaghoṣa 10; Kavirāja 12; Kālidāsa 142; Kumāradāsa 10; Kṛṣṇānanda 116; Kṣemendra 51; Dhanañjaya 24; Padmagupta 95; Bilhaṇa 52; Buddhaghōṣa 133; Bhāravi 24; Bhaumaka 25; Mañkha 249; Māgha 88; Ratnākara 2175; Rudra 69; Lolimbarāja 39; Varāhamihira 157; Viranandin 147; Śrīharṣa 213; Someśvara 19; Haricandra 72; Halāyudha 33; Hemacandra 48.
- 104 Vasupadamañjarī (*na-ja-bha-ja-ja-ra*): Ratnākara 1. See Vāgvallabha, p. 234.
- 105 Vāṇinī (*na-ja-bha-ja-ra-ga*): Ratnākara 1; Śivasvāmin 1.
- 106 Vātormi (*ma-bha-ta-ga-ga*): Varāhamihira 4.

- 107 Vidyunnālā (*ma-ma-ga-ga*): Varāhamihira 4; Śivasvāmin 1.
- 108 Viyoginī (*sa-sa-ja-ga*; *sa-bha-ra-la-ga*): Amaracandra 216; Aśvaghoṣa 56; Kālidāsa 134; Kumāradāsa 69; Kṛṣṇānanda 57; Dhanañjaya 57; Padmagupta 78; Bilhaṇa 84; Bhaṭṭi 2; Bhāravi 62; Buddhaghōṣa 1; Bhaumaka 12; Maṅkha 13; Māgha 79; Ratnākara 44; Rudra 5; Lolimbarāja 6; Vīranandin 187; Śivasvāmin 50; Śrīharṣa 101; Haricandra 1.
- 109 Vilāsinī (*na-ja-bha-ja-bha-la-ga*): Varāhamihira 1.
- 110 Vaitāliya (6, *ra-la-ga*; 8, *ra-la-ga*): Aśvaghoṣa 1; Bhaumaka 3; Varāhamihira 57; Hemacandra 2.
- 111 Vaiśvadevī (*ma-ma-ya-ya*): Dhanañjaya 1; Bhaumaka 5; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 1; Varāhamihira 1; Śivasvāmin 1; Hemacandra 14.
- 112 Śarabhalalita (*ma-bha-na-ta-ga-ga*): Aśvaghoṣa 2.
- 113 Śārdūlavikrīḍita (*ma-sa-ja-sa-ta-ta-ga*): Amaracandra 79; Aśvaghoṣa 6; Kavirāja 27; Kālidāsa 1; Kumāradāsa 8; Kṛṣṇānanda 18; Kṣemendra 143; Dhanañjaya 4; Padmagupta 3; Bilhaṇa 43; Buddhaghōṣa 1; Bhaṭṭi 2; Maṅkha 155; Māgha 4; Ratnākara 16; Rudra 104; Lolimbarāja 21; Varāhamihira 116; Vīranandin 10; Śrīharṣa 102; Śivasvāmin 8; Someśvara 7; Haricandra 27; Halāyudha 13; Hemacandra 12.
- 114 Śālinī (*ma-ta-ta-ga-ga*): Amaracandra 3; Kavirāja 6; Kālidāsa 1; Kṛṣṇānanda 5; Dhanañjaya 46; Padmagupta 1; Buddhaghōṣa 2; Bhāravi 3; Bhaumaka 23; Māgha 81; Ratnākara 101; Rudra 2; Lolimbarāja 9; Varāhamihira 53; Vīranandin 13; Śivasvāmin 47; Someśvara 3; Haricandra 101; Hemacandra 35.
- 115 Śikhariṇī (*ya-ma-na-sa-bha-la-ga*): Amaracandra 17; Aśvaghoṣa 11; Kavirāja 3; Kumāradāsa 2; Kṛṣṇānanda 1; Kṣemendra 28; Dhanañjaya 7; Padmagupta 1; Bilhaṇa 12; Bhāravi 3; Bhaumaka 1; Maṅkha 19; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 2; Rudra 7; Varāhamihira 18; Vīranandin 3; Śrīharṣa 12; Śivasvāmin 1; Someśvara 1; Haricandra 2; Halāyudha 1; Hemacandra 3;
- 116 Śuddhavarīḥ (*ma-sa-ja-ga*): Varāhamihira 2.
- 117 Samānī (*ra-ja-ga-la*): Varāhamihira 1.
- 118 Siddhi (*na-ja-bha-ja-ja-ja-ra*): Ratnākara 1; Māgha 1 (called Dhṛtaśrī by Stenzler, ZDMG., 44. p. 77).
- 119 Sundara (*ra-na-bha-bha-ra*): Māgha 1; (called Utsara by Stenzler at ZDMG., 44. p. 75, no. 9); Ratnākara 1.
- 120 Sudanta (*sa-ya-sa-ja-ga*): Hemacandra 5.
- 121 Suvaṇḍā (*ma-ra-bha-na-ya-bha-la-ga*): Aśvaghoṣa 1; Varāhamihira 1.
- 122 Suvṛttā: See Meghavisphūjītā.

- 123 Sthira: See Pramāṇikā.
- 124 Sragdharā (*ma-ra-bha-na-ya-ya-ya*): Amaracandra 18; Aśvaghōṣa 1; Kavirāja 25; Kumāradāsa 3; Kṛṣṇānanda 3; Kṣemendra 32; Padmagupta 2; Bilhana 23; Bhaṭṭi 1; Maṅkha 55; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 37; Rudra 15; Lolimbarāja 1; Varāhamihira 11; Viranandin 2; Śivasvāmin 15; Śrīharṣa 28; Halāyudha 1.
- 125 Sragvinī (*ra-ra-ra-ra*): Māgha 1; Ratnākara 2; Lolimbarāja 2; Śivasvāmin 1; Haricandra 1; Hemacandra 4.
- 126 Svāgatā (*ra-na-bha-ga-ga*): Amaracandra 341; Kavirāja 1; Kālidāsa 2; Dhanañjaya 24; Bilhana 72; Bhāravi 77; Bhaumaka 14; Maṅkha 36; Māgha 91; Ratnākara 3; Rudra 24; Lolimbarāja 6; Varāhamihira 20; Viranandin 50; Śivasvāmin 57; Śrīharṣa 253; Haricandra 69; Hemacandra 115.
- 127 Hariṇapluta (*sa-sa-sa-la-ga*; *na-bha-bha-ra*): Varāhamihira 1.
- 128 Hariṇī (*na-sa-na-ra-sa-la-ga*): Kavirāja 1; Kālidāsa 4; Kṛṣṇānanda 2; Kṣemendra 16; Dhanañjaya 7; Padmagupta 4; Bilhana 12; Maṅkha 11; Māgha 1; Ratnākara 3; Varāhamihira 13; Viranandin 2; Śivasvāmin 40; Śrīharṣa 57; Someśvara 1; Haricandra 3; Halāyudha 1; Hemacandra 4.



## श्रीभानुदत्तविरचितं

अलङ्कार-तिलकम्

चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ।

अथालङ्काराः । औपाधिकप्रकर्षहेतुरलङ्कारः । उपाधिः क्वचित् कश्चिद् । तत्र वक्रोक्त्यनुप्रासयमकश्लेषचित्रपुनरुक्तवदाभासाः षडिति काव्यप्रकाशकृतः । गतिरीतिवृत्तिच्छायासुदृशुक्तिभणितिगुम्फनाशय्यापठित्युक्तिगूढप्रश्नोत्तरप्रहेलिकाध्ययगेयप्रेक्ष्याभिनेयौ इति कण्ठाभरणकृतः । वाक्छलं च वक्रोक्तिः । सौ च श्लेष एव । एकार्थे छलानुपपत्तेः । काकुब्धपि नानार्थास्वेव वक्रोक्तिः । किं नकारादिशब्दस्यावयवत्वेन नानार्थत्वात् । न च वक्रोक्तिः श्लेष एवान्तर्भवति । कारणतायां तस्योपक्षयात् । बालो नाथेत्यादौ शब्दो गुणः । सा च पदभङ्गपूर्विका पदभङ्गपूर्विका । पदभङ्गोऽपि सर्वनामासर्वनामभेदाद् द्विधा ।

क्रमेणोदाहरणानि—

‘भोगी धमति कः कुञ्जे कृष्णो गयं विधीयताम् ।

मा भेषीः सखि जानामि मन्त्रं सिद्धिप्रदायकम् ॥

तेषां न तरुणा भेदो येषां भक्तिर्न शङ्करे ।

भवाब्धौ येन निर्ममं तरुणा विरलाः सखे ॥

किं नरकुलं विदग्धं का कुकथा नैव कर्तव्या ।

कोऽपक्रियाकलापः कासारप्रक्रिया जगति ॥

वर्णसाम्यमनुप्रास इति केचित् । तत्र यमकेऽतिव्याप्तेः । स्थानानुप्रासेऽप्यप्येव । दूरेस्थितेऽपि वर्णेऽनुप्रासव्यवहारपत्तेः । [ वर्णावृत्तिरनुप्रास इति केचित् । तदसत् । लाटानुप्रासे स्थानानुप्रासे चैव्याप्तेः । दूरेस्थिते वर्णेऽनुप्रासव्यवहारापत्तेः । ] न च लाटे वर्णावृत्तिरस्त्येव पदस्य वर्णसमूहघटितत्वादिति वाच्यम् । एवं सति यमकेऽतिव्याप्तेर्वज्रलेपत्वात् । किन्त्वभिन्नार्थत्वे सति पूर्वानुभवसंस्कारोद्बोधकत्वे सति श्रुत्या यत्समानमनुभूयते सोऽनुप्रासः । श्रुति-क्वचिद्वर्णनिष्ठा क्वचित्स्थानादिनिष्ठा । श्रुतिः श्रवणम् । ननु लवलोचनयोर्लोक्यत्रातिव्याप्तिः समानश्रुत्यभावादिति चेत् । सत्यम् । श्रुतिर्द्विविधा । छन्दोवर्णश्रुतिः स्वरविशिष्टश्रुतिश्च । प्रथममत्र द्वितीयं च छेकादौ प्रयोजकं यमकेऽतिव्याप्तिवारणाय । सत्यम् । तेन च लाटेऽप्यप्यतिव्याप्तिः । तस्याप्यभिन्नार्थत्वात् । भिन्नार्थे तस्य तात्पर्यमात्रम् । ननु वर्णावृत्तिरनुप्रासोऽस्तु । तस्य क्वचित् स्वरूपं क्वचित्स्थानं क्वचित्स्वर आवृत्ति इति चेत् । न । स्थानस्वरयोरेव वर्णावृत्तिदर्शनात् । स च च्छेकमालावृत्तलाटभेदाच्चतुर्धा । श्रुत्यनुगता सकृदावृत्तिश्छेकः । यथा—

स्तने निरस्तावरणे प्रियार्याः करे च भर्तुः कल्हयमाने ।

विभावरीं वीक्ष्य विभातकल्पां मनोऽनुतापं मदनोऽपि लेभे ॥

श्रुत्यनुगतासकृदावृत्तिर्वृत्तिर्माँ । यथा—

सख्यः समस्ता निरगुः पुरस्तादस्ताचलं चुम्बति चण्डरोचिः ।  
कथं मुरारे निविडान्धकोर पारेनदीनाँर्मपि माँ जहासि ॥

छेकस्तु पदान्तपादाद्ययोः शृङ्खला । यथा वसन्तसन्धौ—

समीरस्य मल्लीमतल्लीदिहक्षा सिसृक्षा रसालाञ्जगानाँ स्मरस्य ।  
द्विरेफस्य चित्रचनीनाँ शिशिक्षाँ विवक्षा पुनः पञ्चमानाँ पिकस्य ॥

पदान्तच्छेको यथा तातचरणानाम्—

प्रतिनगरं प्रतिभवनं कन्या त्वमिव कलैर्वति कापि न धन्या ।  
अयि सुगवे परिहर परितापं किमपि न भवने तव दुरवापम् ॥

विभक्तिवचनभेदात् पदान्तच्छेकादौ भङ्ग्यनुप्रासः । यथा—

दिशि दिशि शारदशशधरभासस्तदपि न वदने तव परिहासः ।  
कृपयत्येष मनोजमहीपतिरद्यापि न मयि विरहञ्ज्वरवति ॥

पदान्तवृत्तं यथा—

चैलाञ्चलं कर्षति चन्द्रमौलौ भालानलस्पर्शभयाद् द्रुतायाः ।  
भोगीन्द्रसंरुद्धपदाम्बुजायाः पुनातु साचिस्मितमम्बिकायाः ॥  
प्रतिवपुस्सदयति वेपथुभारः कुचकुम्भे तव नृत्यति हारः ।  
भवति कपोले पुलकाविकारस्तदपि न विरमति सुदति नकारः ॥

वर्णसाम्यं विनापि श्रुतिमात्रसाम्येनापि पदान्तच्छेकादयः । यथा गीतगोविन्दे—

तालफलादपि गुरुमतिसरसं किं विफलीकुरुषे कुचकलशम् ।

श्रुत्यनुगतक्रमानुगतप्रचुरतरवर्णावृत्तिप्रथनं मालानुप्रासः । मालेव माला । यथा—

निगमव्याकरणं जगदुद्ग्रहं धरणीवल्यसमुद्धरणम् ।  
दनुजाधिपदमनं बलिपरिहरणं निखिलक्षत्रक्षयकरणम् ।  
दशकन्धरदमनं धेनुकदलनं कपटप्रकटितबहुकरणम् ।  
त्वामन्त्यजदहनं रक्षितधुवनं भजतु मनो मम मधुमथनम् ॥

अनेकैर्वृत्तिर्वृत्तिमितीदमपि वृत्तमेवेति केचित् । अनुप्रासस्यापि यमकस्येवाद्यमध्यान्तभेदाः । आद्यानुप्रासो यथा—

नीरं किरन्तं जलदं प्रतीत्य चौरं सितं पश्यति नन्दसूनौ ।  
धीरं विधाय स्मितमायताक्षी तीरं प्रतस्थे तपनात्मजायाः ॥

एवमन्यदूहनीयम् ।

तात्पर्यमात्रभिन्नार्थकपदावृत्तिर्लोटः । स चैकपदनिष्ठोऽनेकपदनिष्ठः पौर्दिनिष्ठः श्लोकैर्धनिष्ठश्च । क्रमेणीदाहरणानि—

कला कापि कलाभर्तुर्मानिनीमानकर्तरी ।  
कामं कञ्चुकिनिर्मुवतमिव कञ्चुकमञ्चति ॥  
अस्ति चित्ते यदि च्छद्म बहुना विनयेन किम् ।  
नास्ति चित्ते यदि च्छद्म बहुना विनयेन किम् ॥

न चेदं यमकम् । अभिन्नार्थत्वात् ।

भूते भूतेश ते प्रीतिः प्रीतिस्तव ककुब्धति ।  
भुजङ्गमे तव प्रीतिः प्रीतिर्मयि कुतोऽस्तु ते ॥

वीप्सा च लाट एव । स्वरानुप्रासो यथा—

दधाति दृढसन्धानं बाणं कुसुमसायकः ।  
तस्य कंसरिपोर्बाले<sup>३९</sup> समाजे नय बासरान् ॥

यथा वा तातचरणानाम्—

सा का योषित्स च कः पुरुषः प्रभवति यस्यै<sup>४०</sup> नै<sup>४१</sup> मन्मथविशिखः ।  
किन्तु कृशोदरि दृढसन्धानं कापि कदापि विमुञ्चति वाणम् ॥

एनं<sup>४२</sup> श्रुत्यनुप्रासे<sup>४३</sup> केचिद्वदन्ति । स्थानानुप्रासो यथा—

भाले विधिलिखितवानुपमानं सुभ्रुवस्तस्याः ।  
स्मर एषं<sup>४४</sup> बिन्दुमकरोत्तस्मिन्मृगनाभिबिन्दुकपेटन ॥  
सर्वत्रानुप्रासे छेकवृत्तिमालाः ।

भिन्नार्थकपदावृत्तिर्यमकम् । वर्णसमूहः पदम् । तेन पदपादश्लोकार्धावृत्तीनां संग्रहः । तच्च पूर्णमपूर्णं चेति<sup>४५</sup> । पूर्णं पादावृत्त्यादि । यमकं तु एकद्वित्रिचतुःपादनिष्ठैर्धादिमध्यान्तोपास्तनिष्ठमेकाक्षरद्व्याक्षरादिनिष्ठं च । एकपादं यमकं यथा—

मौनवी मा नवीभूता तन्वि व्योम्नि निरीक्ष्यते ।  
तारापारावतं हन्तुं नाली न्यस्तेव वेधसा ॥

द्विपादयमकं यथा—

अवलया वलयाञ्चितदृष्टया ललितयालि तया समुदीक्षितः ।  
मिहिरशीतकरास्तमनाशया यदुपतिर्मुकुलीकुरुते दृशौ ॥

त्रिपादयमकं यथा—

रसमये समये दहनाधिका वरतनोरतनोः शरवेदना ।  
इति घनोतिघनोदितनिःस्वनैरुपदिदेश विदेशगताञ्जनान् ॥

चतुःपादयमकं यथा—

कमलिनी मलिनीकरणोद्यतैः स्मरहितैरहितैर्विरहस्पृशाम् ।  
समुदितैर्मुदितैः शशिनः करैर्विदधिरे दधिरेणुरुचो दिशः ॥

आद्यन्तयमकं यथा—

घनतरं न तरङ्गय लोचनाञ्चलमसौ कपटी यदुनन्दनः ।  
अथ भविष्यति तन्वि हुताशनच्छविरहो विरहोऽपि दुरुत्तरः ॥

मध्यान्तयमकं यथा—

बहलं चण्डिमचण्डविमर्दनक्षमतया मतया त्रिदिवौकसाम् ।  
ज्वालितभीषणलोचनतेजसा गिरिजयारिजयाय विनिर्गतम् ॥

अन्त्ययमकं यथा—

चकार दृष्ट्या चपलं मनो हरः स एष शीतांशुकलामनोहरः ।  
कथं न काश्मीरचयः सदारुणः कृतोऽपि भाले सखि यः सदारुणः ॥



उपान्ययमकं यथा—

शिवो यदाराधि न बन्धनं तदा मनो यदा साधु न बन्धनं तदा ।  
वचः समायाति न दीनतां तदा प्रयाति हर्षाश्रु नदीनतां तदा ॥

शृङ्खलात्मकं यथा—

सुन्दरीसुतसमोजैबन्धुरं बन्धुरम्यमपि निष्फलं जगत् ।  
शङ्करं प्रति विवेहि मानसं मानसं बलितमस्तु ते जैतुः ॥

पादावृत्तिर्यथा—

नवसूनार्विली यस्य कोकिलकाणकोमला ।  
नवसूनार्विली यस्य कविकाव्यमनोहरा ॥

अर्धावृत्तिर्यमकं यथा—

कंसशास्त्रैर्बलं कृष्णो न मेने सत्वरं जितम् ।  
कंसशास्त्रैर्बलं कृष्णो न मेने सत्वरजितम् ॥

अन्यदूहनीयम् ।

शब्दभङ्गी श्लेषः । स च पदलिङ्गभाषावर्णप्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभक्तिवचनभेदादृष्ट्या । पदश्लेषो यथा—

अक्षरणमतनुतन्त्रं भाविनिगूढार्थचेष्टितं दधती ।  
सा वाणी सा तरुणी या संश्लेषेण तोषयति ॥

वैचैनलिङ्गभेदो यथा—

युवा सेनासमुद्गमरामे पृथ्वीं समाशति ।  
क्रीडाकुञ्जा विपक्षाश्च पर्यस्तशिखरालयः ॥

भाषाश्लेषो यथा—

शिथिलकारिगमनबहुद्वयकरकञ्चुकवचनविक्षेपा ।  
असमानकपटरजितसेनातरुणी परिस्फुरति ॥

अन्यदप्युहनीयम् ।

पुनरुक्तभ्रमकरं यत्स पुनरुक्तवदाभासः । नन्वस्य भ्रमकरत्वादोषत्वं न त्वलङ्कारत्वमिति चेत् । सत्यम् । यथा  
विरोधाभासस्य विरोधभ्रमकारार्थघटनचमत्कारः शोभाकरस्तथा पुनरुक्तत्वभ्रमकरवर्णविन्यासचमत्कारः शोभाकरः । स च  
श्लिष्टोऽश्लिष्टश्च । यथा—

दरविकचार्किञ्चकाननवनचारी मलयगिरिवातः ।  
उद्गीवयति निशान्ते मित्रसङ्घद्विद्वगमिधुनानि ॥

गतिरीतिवृत्तय उक्ताः । चित्रगूढप्रहेलिकाप्रश्नोत्तराणि चित्रैर्चन्द्रिकायां दर्शयिष्यामः ।  
जातिः संस्कृतादि । तच्च कथितं स्पष्टं च ।

परानुकृतिश्चाया । शिञ्छेकमत्तादिभेदादनुकृतीनामानन्त्यम् । अनुकृतिर्द्विधा शब्दानुकृतिरथानुकृतिश्च ।  
उभयमपि यथा तैत्तिचरणानाम्—

साकूतं सकुतूहलं सविनयं धात्रीभिराश्रासिता  
क्रन्दन्तो गगनाभ्रचुम्बिषु चिरं सौधावलीभूर्द्धसु ।  
प्रीतिमुग्धमुखेन्दुमण्डलधिया द्राक्संनिक्छे विधौ  
बाला हुङ्कृतिमार्चयन्ति मसृणोच्छ्रुनाधरोष्ठश्रियः ॥  
हुङ्कृतिरिति शब्दानुकृतिः । उच्छ्रुन इत्यर्थानुकृतिः ।

मुद्रा भङ्गयोक्तिः । यथा—

अङ्गोद्वर्तनरेणवो मृगदृशाः क्रीर्णास्तडिद्वर्द्धयः  
सन्दर्भो वचसा पचेलिमसुधासिद्धान्तवैतण्डिकः ।  
वक्त्रेन्दोरधमर्ण एष भगवान् दाक्षायणीनायकः  
किंवा वाच्यमितोऽपि लोचनरुचौ वैतालिकाः षट्पदाः ॥

अयुक्तसंयोजनं युक्तिः । यथा—

जलदरजतकान्तिकान्तमम्भोनिधिरणीधरकन्यकोपगूढम् ।  
अवति हरति विश्वमङ्गमेकं वहति च कौस्तुभमुण्डदामभूषाम् ॥

प्रथमे विरुद्धगुणयोजना<sup>६८</sup> द्वितीये विरुद्धजातियोजना तृतीये विरुद्धक्रियायोजना चतुर्थे विरुद्धद्रव्ययोजने ।  
वचःपरिपाटी भणितिः । सा च सम्भवनिष्ठासम्भवनिष्ठा च । सम्भवतीति सम्भवः । क्रमेणोदाहरणम्—

नगरे तव मेदिनीपते न कियन्तो निवसन्ति कोविदाः ।  
मलयाचलसौमसंनिधौ कति वा सन्ति न चन्दनद्रुमाः ॥  
गगननिवसतिः क्व शीतरोचिः क्व च हरिणो गिरिकाननैकवासः ।  
तदपि कमलकोमले सुधांशौ स्वपिति रतिश्रमकातरः कुरङ्गः ॥

शब्दार्थयोः सम्यक्संघटनं गुम्फना । [ शब्दसंघटनं ] शब्दस्य सम्यक्त्वमर्थसंघटनमर्थस्य सम्यक्त्वं  
यथावास्थितस्थापकम् । प्रथमं यथा—

जानीमस्तव हेम गौरि हृदयादेष स्मरक्षमापतिर्  
जृम्भारम्भविजृम्भमाणवदनाम्भोजैः समुत्तिष्ठति ।  
मञ्जीरं रसना सुवर्णवलयं सर्वत्र सर्वे यतो  
व्यातन्वन्ति लुचूकृति किमु रणत्कारव्वनिच्छन्ना ॥

द्वितीयं यथा—

भवभूतिभवनवद्धां कृतरक्षां कालिदासेन ।  
अथ लब्धबाणवत्सां काव्यगवीं दोग्धुमिच्छामि ॥  
कण्ठाभरणकारमतमिति शब्दालङ्कारावसेरऽप्यर्थालङ्कृतिरूपदैर्घिता ।

अर्थानामेककालवाचकप्रत्ययेनाभिधानं शय्या । यर्थी—

गरुडासन गोविन्द त्वयि मे हृदि जाग्रति ।

कालव्यालः कथङ्कारमायुःक्षीरं पिबत्यसौ ॥

विशिष्टज्ञापकोच्चारणं पठितिः । आनुकूल्यं पदच्छेदकाकुस्वराभिनयादि । पदच्छेदो यथा—

‘कङ्कणं कुरुते कान्ता ।’

कं इति चेत् पृथक्पठितमानुकूल्यमवगन्तव्यम् ।

उक्तिरुपदेशः । स च विधिसुखो निषेधसुखश्च यथा—

ध्यायंत धामनिधानं धामनिर्धानं दृशोस्त्यजन् ।

भवनं विषमविकारं विषमविकारं न यद् भवति ॥

अध्येयमध्ययनार्हं चतुर्दश विद्याः । गेयं श्रव्यम् । तानि च षट् । आशीर्नमस्कृत्या नान्दी वस्तुनिर्देशा आक्षिप्तिका ध्रुवा चेति । <sup>१</sup>एवं प्रेक्ष्यमभिनयो नाट्यालङ्कारो न तु काव्यालङ्कार इति प्रकटितम् ॥

इति श्रीभानुदत्तविरचितेऽलङ्कारतिलके चतुर्थः परिच्छेदः ॥

### पञ्चमः परिच्छेदः ।

अथार्थालङ्काराः । तत्र स्वभावोपमा-परिवृत्ति-अनन्वय-निदर्शन-दृष्टान्त-प्रतिवस्तूपमा-तुल्ययोगिता-रूपक-उपप्रेक्षा-अपह्नुति-आवृत्ति-विशेषोक्ति-अर्थान्तर-व्यतिरेक-विभावना-सूक्ष्म-क्रम-समासोक्ति-असङ्कति-हेतु-अतिशय-विनोक्ति-सहोक्ति-व्याजस्तुति-निन्दास्तुति-समुच्चय-उदात्त-पर्याय-पर्यायोक्ति-विरोधाभास-रसवद्-ऊर्जस्वि-अप्रस्तुतस्तोत्र-प्रेयः-अनुमान-कारणमाला-परिकर-व्याजोक्ति-परिसंख्या-सार-समाधि-सम-विषम-अधिक-उन्मीलित-प्रतीप-स्मृति-भ्रान्ति-संशय-अनव्यवसाय-एकावली-सामान्य-विशेष-काव्यलिङ्ग-व्याघात-विरोध-भाविक-परिवृत्ति-अन्योन्य-उत्तर-प्रत्यनीक-तद्वृण-अतद्वृण-भङ्गी-आक्षेप-दीपक-दीपकमाला-सङ्कर-संसृष्टि-आशिषश्चेति ।

चमत्कारि स्वरूपनिर्वचनं स्वभावोक्तिः । केवलस्वरूपनिरुक्तौ शोभानुदयात् । गोरपत्यमित्यादौ तथा दर्शनात् । तच्च जातिद्रव्यक्रियागुणनिष्ठम् । यथा—

अव्यक्तवाग्व्यवर्तकुचाद्रिकान्ति प्रवृत्तहर्षपालि विवृत्तहारम् ।

व्यस्तोऽहस्तोत्पलवद्वनीवि<sup>१२</sup> शातोदरी दीपशिखां न सेहे ॥

प्रतीयमानसादृश्यमुपमेति केचित् । तत्र रूपकेऽतिव्याप्तेः । किन्त्वतिरोभूतभेदत्वेन प्रतीतिरुपमा । न चोपप्रेक्षापह्नुतिस्तुल्ययोगिताप्रभृतिष्वतिव्याप्तिः । रूपक इव तेष्वपि भेदस्य तिरोभूतत्वात् । सा च द्विविधा । सामान्यवती विशेषवती च । सामान्यवती यथा—

ब्रजन्याः पथि सीतायाः पुरः पश्चाद्विरेजतुः ।

श्रीरामलक्ष्मणावतौ गायत्र्याः प्रणवाविव ॥

विशेषवती च वाचकसमानधर्मोपन्यासोपमानोपमेयान्यतरविरहात् । क्यङ्कि क्यञ्चि च्विप्रत्ययेन समानधर्मोपन्यासविरहात् । तत्र प्रत्ययस्यैव सादृश्यवाचकत्वात् । क्यञ्चि यथा—



वातं स्थावरयन् नभः पुटकयन् स्रोतस्विनीः सूत्रयन्  
<sup>१४</sup>सिन्धुं पल्लयन् वनं विटपयन् भूषण्डलं लोष्टयन् ।  
 शैलं सर्षपयन् दिशं व्यणुकयन् लोकत्रयं क्रोडयन्  
 हेलारब्धयोर्यो हयस्तव कथङ्कारं गिरां गोचरः ॥

विधुमुखीत्यादौ वाचकसमानधर्मोपन्यासविरहात् । वृक्रोदर इत्यादौ वाचकसमानधर्मोपन्यासोपमानविरहात् ।  
 वृक्रोदरमिव उदरमित्यर्थोऽवगम्यते । न हि प्राणी प्राण्यङ्गमिति मध्यमपदलोपी समासः । उपमेयविरहाद्यर्थः—

अहं स्वप्ने लताकुञ्जपालिमालि समागता ।  
 तत्राम्बुदमिवापश्यमर्थं वश्यं न मे मनः ॥

न चेयं<sup>१८</sup> लक्षणया लुप्तरूपकम् । उपमानवाचकपदप्रयोगात् सादृश्यमहिम्ना च हरिर्लक्ष्यते ।  
 अभूतोपमा यथा—

<sup>१९</sup>क्षीरं फेनं यदि यदि सुधासंनिवेशस्तरङ्गो  
 द्राक्षापङ्को भवति यदि<sup>२०</sup> वा शर्करा सैकतं स्यात् ।  
 भूयादेवं यदि मधुनदी तत्र वन्याविवर्तः  
 सोऽयं तस्यास्तुल्यति वैचैः शैलराजात्मजायाः ॥

परस्पोपमा यथा—

क्षैमाविवेककारुण्यशौर्यसौन्दर्यशालिनोः ।  
 रामलक्ष्मणयोरेव सादृश्यमितरेतरम् ॥

शब्दसाम्यात् श्लेषोपमा यथा—

साधुवृन्दावनक्रीडापरो देवो जनार्दनः ।  
<sup>२१</sup>त्वं च तेन महीपाल न पालयसि मां कुतः ॥

एकोपमावद् बहुपमाप्यवगन्तव्या ।

यद्यपि परिवृत्त्यनन्वयनिदर्शनप्रतिवस्तूपमादृष्टान्ततुल्ययोगिता लुप्तोपमा एव तेषां पृथक्त्वेऽभूतोपमा—परस्पोप—  
 माक्यङ्गप्रभृतिप्रत्ययवैच्योपमानामपि पृथक्त्वापत्तेः । तथापि सम्प्रदायानुरोधोत् ते निर्लेप्यन्ते ।

पूर्वपूर्वोपमेयस्योत्तरोत्तरमुपमानभावः परिवृत्तिः । यैथा—

रघुर्दिलीपवत् तद्वदजस्तद्वत्तदात्मजः ।  
 पितुरेवोपमा सूनोरिति सूर्यकुलक्रमः ॥

उपमेयोपमानयोरभेदोऽनन्वयः । यैथा—

कुर्वतोरङ्गयोरैक्यं मुखतोर्विरहव्यथाम् ।  
 गौरीगिरिशयोः प्रेम गौरीगिरिशयोरिव ॥

पर्यवसितासम्भवं निदर्शनम् । यथा—

सहजसुभगकान्तिमण्डलाभ्यामिदमुपलालितमाननं मृगाक्ष्याः ।  
 भृगुमुतगुरुमव्यवर्तिराकाहिमकरमण्डलाधुरीं बभार ॥

यथैवा—

काहं स्वल्पमतिः कासौ वंशो भगवतो रवेः ।  
नलिनीनालरन्ध्रेण पातुमिच्छामि<sup>३४</sup> वारिधिम् ॥

उदाहरणमुखोऽर्थनिश्चयो दृष्टान्तः । यथा—

क्रियतेऽनुनयोऽपि काकुवाग्भिः खलतामेव खलस्तथापि धत्ते ।  
अपि कुन्दमरन्दसारासिकता विषवल्ली विषमेव यत्प्रसूते ॥

उपन्यस्तस्य धर्मस्य धर्मान्तरोपन्यासः प्रतिवस्तूपमा । यथा—

रत्नभूतासि वामोरु दामोदरमतो भज ।  
कलानिधेः<sup>३६</sup> कला काचिदुचिता मूर्ध्नि धूर्जटेः ॥

रत्नोपमितायाः कलोपमा ।

प्राधान्येन तुल्यधर्मोपन्यासस्तुल्ययोगिता । यथैवा—

निस्त्यन्दतारकमुदञ्चितकेशपाशमापाण्डुरद्युति पराङ्मुखचित्रवृत्ति ।  
कुञ्जे गिरौ विचरतः शशिशेखरस्य केनापि नापि विदितो विरहो रहो वा ॥

इवाव्ययप्रत्ययप्रतिपक्षादिशब्दा उपमावाचकाः । विषयदेशकालवैचित्र्यादुपमानानामानन्त्यम् ।

यद्यपि लुप्तोपमैव रूपकं तथापि सम्प्रदायानुरोधादुच्यते । तिरोभूतभेदोपमा रूपकम् । तच्च पूर्णमपूर्णं<sup>३६</sup> ।  
पूर्णं यथा—

कर्णधारः स्मरो देवः सन्ध्या नौरम्बरं रजः ॥  
विक्षेपणी विधोर्लैला काचिदेवा विराजते ॥

मुखकमलमित्यादावपूर्णरूपकम् । तदपि द्विविधं समस्तमसमस्तं च । क्रमेणोदाहरणे तातचरैरूपानाम्—

नाभिहृदात्कामगजेन<sup>३७</sup> हतुं स्तनारविन्दे प्रहितः करो<sup>३८</sup> यः ।  
विलोलसारङ्गविलोचनायाः स एव रोमावलितामयासीत् ॥  
अन्धकारनिकरं तृणाङ्कुरं स्वादयन्समधिकं तृषाकुलः ।  
चन्द्रकान्तचयमम्बुधोरणीमाजहार तरणस्तुरङ्गमः ॥

मालारूपकं यथा—

निर्वेदः सरसीरुहस्य तिमिरस्तोमस्य होमस्थलं  
सिद्धान्तः कुसुमायुधस्य सुदृशा कोपस्य काशीपदम् ।

प्रव्रज्या कुमुदकर्मस्य कुलटावाटस्य पाटचरः  
पूर्वाद्रेरुदियाय विभ्रमैवणिगदेवः क्षपाकामुकः ॥

रूपकमरूपकं<sup>३९</sup> श्लिष्टरूपकम् । यथा—

भ्रमरहितो नवसूनः कल्पतरुर्जयति राजेन्द्रः ।  
परिचितसस्रशाखः फलति न यदि नाम किं कुर्मः ॥

रूप्यरूपकान्यतरविरहाल्लुप्तरूपकम् । यथा—

धत्ते सुदं चकोरस्थ किरत्यमृतधोरणीम् ।  
कुरुते कौमुदीवृष्टिमास्यमस्या मृगीदृशः ॥

आस्यमित्यत्र रूपैक्यव्यतिरेकात् कौमुदीत्यत्र रूपैक्यव्यतिरेकात् । सुखचन्द्रमित्यत्र शक्तिः । वृत्तिरत्र लक्षणेति विशेषः । तेनात्र लक्षणया रूप्यरूपकयोरुपस्थितिः । न चेयमुपमा भेदस्य तिरोभूतत्वात् । एतच्च विशेष्यनिष्ठं विशेषण-निष्ठं लुप्तसादृश्यमलुप्तसादृश्यं व्यस्तसमस्तावयवावयवविरोधहेतुप्रभृतिभिर्विशेषैरस्याप्यानन्त्यमिति ।

उपमैवान्यथाभानरूपेत्प्रेक्षा । वाचकसादृश्यं विनापि तस्या अनुदयात् । न हि मशी-क्षोदः क्षीरस्वेनोत्प्रेक्ष्यते । तथापि सम्प्रदायानुरोधात् पृथगुच्यते । शक्युपस्थितस्यान्यस्यैककोटिकमन्यथाभानमुत्प्रेक्षा । ' इन्दाविन्दीवरद्वन्द्वम् ' इत्यादावति-व्याप्तिवारणाय शक्युपस्थितेति । संशयालङ्कारेऽतिव्याप्तिवारणायैककोटिकमिति । सा च विधिमुखी रूपकमुखी व्याजमुखी चेति । एताश्च विशेष्यप्रधाना विशेषणप्रधाना विशिष्टप्रधानाश्चेति । क्रमेणोदाहरणानि—

हरिणं हन्त धावन्तमनुधावन्ति वाजिनः ।

नाभिनिर्मुक्तकस्तूरीलुब्धा इव समीरणाः ॥

निद्राणे जगदीश्वरे जलनिधौ पाथोधरस्तस्करः

संसारयतनं प्रविश्य चाकितं व्यालोक्य विद्युद्दृशं ।

इन्दुस्फाटिकभाण्डमण्डलमिदं मार्तण्डकार्तस्वरं

ताराशौकितकमौकितकावालमसौ हर्तुं किमाकाङ्क्षति ॥

रौमक्षोणिपतेः प्रतापदहनज्वालाभिरावर्जिते

दुग्धाब्जौ सहसा सुधांशुमहसा तर्काम्भसा दूषिते ।

एते मौक्तिकशङ्खशुक्तिशफरीडिण्डीरखण्डच्छला-

दामिक्षानिकराः [ कचिद् ] कचिदपि भ्राजन्ति भव्यश्रियः ॥

पूर्णोत्प्रेक्षा यथा—

विद्युद्दण्डः शतमखधनुःखण्डकाषायवस्त्रः

श्रीपादोऽयं नवजलधरः संचरन् दिक्षु दिक्षु ।

भिक्षामन्त्रस्तनितनिनदः स्नानतोयार्द्रमूर्तिर्

भानोर्बिम्बं तुहिनकिरणं भैक्ष्यमङ्गीकरोति ॥

पूर्णता स्थलनिर्वाहः ।

खण्डोत्प्रेक्षा यथा—

युष्मत्प्रतापदहनज्वालाजालस्पृशो नभसः ।

स्फोटविकाराः स्फाराः शिव शिव तारामिषेण जायन्ते ॥

मालोत्प्रेक्षा यथा—

लावण्यद्रवलालिता इव कैलासक्रोडप्रविष्टा इव

द्राक्षाकुक्षिसमुत्थिता इव सुधावीचीविचित्रा इव ।

माध्वीकप्रतिबोधिता इव हरौ चेलाञ्चलं कर्षति

त्रीडालोलदशः पयोधिदुहितुर्वाचः प्रसीदन्तु वः ॥

लुप्तोत्प्रेक्षा यथा—

अम्बरमणिश्चिभीतेरम्बरमपहाय मारुते प्रचुते ।

छाया ह्यिवावतस्थे प्रणतमुखी वामनीर्भूय ॥

अत्र वाचकविरहः । एवं कर्तृकर्मकरणतादर्थ्यहेतुसम्बन्धाधारवचनसमयदेशादिभेदादुत्प्रेक्षाणामानन्त्यम् ।

यद्यपि निषेधमुखं रूपकं निषेधमुख्युत्प्रेक्षा वापह्नोतिस्तथापि पृथगुच्यते । उपस्थितं निषिध्य परस्य स्थापनम-



पहुतिः । यथा—

प्रियसखि सुधांशुवतीं नायं पङ्कः कलङ्को वा ।  
सिंहासनेपविष्टो जलधरक्रान्तिः कृतान्तोऽसौ ॥

आवृत्तिस्त्रिधा अर्थावृत्तिः पैदावृत्तिरुभयावृत्तिश्च । आद्यौ यथा—

सुधांश्वेणार्चितः कृष्णः शिवो वा पूजितस्त्वया ।  
सुशीलं च सुधारूपं सुधा वा कथमन्यथा ॥  
कैपाली कुरुते गानं तनुते नृत्यमात्मभूः ।  
मनो नटति कृष्णस्य नटत्येव च मन्मथः ।

एवमुभयावृत्तिरवगन्तव्या । पदावृत्तिः शब्दालङ्कार इति वेदितव्यम् । सत्यपि द्वेता कार्यानुपपत्तिर्विशेषोक्तिः । यथा—

ऊरु रम्भा दृगपि कमलं शैवलं केशपाशो  
वक्त्रं चन्द्रो लपितममृतं मध्यदेशो मृणालम् ।  
नाभिः कूपो वलिरपि सरित्पल्लवः किञ्च पाणिर्हृत्  
र्यस्याः सा चेदुरसि न कथं हन्त तापस्य शान्तिः ॥

प्रस्तुतस्य वस्तुनो वस्त्वन्तरेण समर्थनमर्थान्तरम् । तच्च साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्याम् किन्तु सामान्यस्य विशेषण विशेषस्य सामान्येन समर्थनमिति शेषः । यथा—

न द्विजातिपथं मुञ्च विमुञ्च जनकात्मजाम् ।  
पुंसामानिष्टमाचष्टे यत् स्वभावविपर्ययः ॥  
गुणो दोषाय दोषोऽपि गुणाय भवति क्वचित् ।  
श्रीखण्डः खण्ड्यते नित्यमेरण्डः सुखमेधते ॥

उत्कर्षापकर्षद्वेवोरनुवितरूपमानादुपमेयस्योत्कर्षो वा व्यतिरेकः । क्रमेणोदाहरणे—

तनुस्तव विनिर्जित्य हेमकेतकमञ्जरीम् ।  
तनुते विजयस्तम्भमालि रोमालिकैतवाव ॥

जयहेतुरनुक्तः ।

गरीयसा दानगुणेन राजस्त्वं गीयसे स्पर्शमणेः समानः ।  
अचिन्तितं किन्तु भवान्ददाति चिन्तामणिश्चिन्तितमेव दत्ते ॥

श्लिष्टव्यतिरेको यथा—

एष सुदर्शनशीलनशीलजुषोर्वास्तुदेवयोर्भेदः ।  
कौस्तुभमणिः परस्मिन्श्चिन्तामणिरस्य वक्षसि स्फुरति ॥

हेतुं विना कार्योत्पत्तिर्विभावना । [ यथा ]—

अपाशबन्धो ध्रुवैमानसानामवर्णमन्त्रः स्मरमोहनानाम् ।  
अदेहदपैः कुसमायुधस्य वयो विरेजे नवनीरजाध्याः ॥

अवाकसंज्ञा सूक्ष्मम् । यथा—

भ्रूसंज्ञया प्रिये केलिसमयं प्रष्टुमिच्छति ।  
सुदती रुदती चक्री लिलेखागारभित्तिषु ॥

क्रमो यथा—

त्रिपुरसुरभिदेराभिन्नमङ्गं विधृतवतो रुचिवीततल्पहेतोः ।  
प्रसरति गिरिराजसिन्धुपुत्रयोः कुंजगपतिग्रहणे मिथो विवादः ॥  
अभिप्रेतवस्तुनः संमानवस्वन्तरेणाभिधानं समामोक्षितः । एकाभिधाने द्वयोरभिधानमिति समासः । यथा—  
अपहाय सुवर्णकेतकीं श्रमर प्रास्थितमेव चेत् त्वया ।  
न वपुर्न वयो न वा गुणः पुरुषं रोदुमपि प्रवर्तते ॥  
कार्यकारणयोर्वैयधिकरण्यमसङ्गतिः । वैयधिकरण्यं कालिकं दैशिकं च । यथा—

स्नातं वारिषु निर्मलेषु जटिलो जातः पुनः कुन्तलो  
मालिन्यं वपुषो निरस्तमखिलं कण्ठे पुनः कालिमा ।  
कल्लोला बहुला बलात्परिचिताः क्रान्ता तनुर्भस्मना  
मातः श्रीमणिकर्णि कर्णपुरुषं जल्पामि कोऽयं क्रमः ॥

हेतुद्विविधः कारको ज्ञापकश्च । वस्तुतस्तु हेतोरलङ्कारत्वे सम्प्रदानादीनामलङ्कारतापत्तिः । उत्कर्षविशेषस्य शोभा-  
करस्वमुभयत्रापि समानमिति । कारको यथा—

पिञ्चनपरिचिता पुरी पुरस्ताद्भुजर्नदंष्ट्रिदुस्तरा दिगन्ताः ।  
जनयति पुलकाङ्कुरान्कपोले नयनपथं समुपागतो मुकुन्दः ॥

ज्ञापको यथा—

हारेणोच्छ्रसंतां कुचाङ्कुरसमारम्भो हृदि व्यज्यते  
मञ्जीरस्य रणत्कृतेन मृदुना मन्दा गतिर्मायते ।  
किञ्चित्कञ्चुकभीङ्गीर्भवतनोरस्या वलित्यर्ज्यते  
जेतुं विश्वमितः फलिष्यति मनोराज्यं मनोजन्मनः ॥

लोकसीमामेपेक्ष्य विशेषव्यवस्थातिशयः । स च द्रव्यगुणं कर्मनिष्ठः । तत्रापि लौकिकनिष्ठः प्रच्छादननिष्ठो दैवनिष्ठश्च ।  
क्रमेणोदाहरणानि—

अन्धकारिणि लतागृहोदरे व्याजमौनमवलम्ब्य संचरन् ।  
राधया मदनतीव्रबाधया मूर्छितेन पुनरीक्षितो हरिः ॥  
अयि पङ्केरुहनयने कृतमकृतं वा मयानुचितम् ।  
उदयति किमिति न चन्द्रो न ह्यपराधश्चकोरस्य ॥  
रामे ब्राह्मणवेशधारिणि धनुर्धत्वा कराम्भोरुहे  
शिखायां गुटिकास्त्रमारचयितुं कैलासमाकर्षति ।  
तात त्राहि सत प्रयाहि दयिते निर्याहि सौधाद् बहिर्  
वारं वारमयं पुरान्तकपुरक्षोभः शिवायास्तु वः ॥

विनोक्तिर्यथा—

न सभा कविना विना न वा कलहंसेन विना तरङ्गिणी ।  
समुद्भवति माधुरी न वा कलकण्ठेन विना वनस्थली ॥

सहोक्तिर्यथा—

मनो मनोराज्यशतेन नाकिनां रिपोरुपोढव्यथया सहोदितम् ।  
पितुः प्रमादेन मदेन गोत्रिणां सरोजनेत्रा समधत्त दोहदम् ॥  
एतयोरलङ्कारत्वं उपसर्गोक्तिरप्यलङ्कारः स्यात् । उभयत्रापि शोभाकरत्वं समानमिति ।  
व्याजमुखी व्याजस्तुतिः । निन्दामुखी निन्दास्तुतिः ।

उभयमपि यथा—

अहर्मपैगतवैभवस्त्वमीशः पुरहर तेन मया निषेवितोऽसि ।  
वसनमपगतं कचो जटालः प्रसरति भस्म तनौ किमाचरामि ॥  
श्रुतिव्यतिक्रमक्रीडाचलं तव दृगञ्चलम् ।  
अपहृत्य मनोऽस्माकमद्यापि न विमुञ्चति ॥

एकस्य कार्यस्य विविधकारणोपन्यास एकस्मिन् कारणे नानाकार्योपन्यासो र्वी समुच्चयः । आद्यो<sup>८०</sup> यथा—  
रेखा काञ्चनकज्जलस्य नयनाम्भोजे मिथः कौशला—

दालीभिः सरलीकृतापि कुटिलीभावं समालम्बते ।  
लक्ष्मीं वक्षसि पाणिपद्मविषयैस्पर्शोदयादुन्नतिर्  
जानीमो वयमेणशावनयने बाल्यं न पाल्यं तव ॥

एकस्या यौवनाभिव्यक्तेर्नाना कारणम् । द्वितीयं यथा—

अवगत्य कोकिलस्तं निभृतं हरिणा कृतं हरिणशावदशः ।  
चकितं दशा पुलकितं वपुषा शिरसा नतं विकसितं मनसा ॥  
एकस्य कोकिलस्तस्य विविधकार्योपन्यासः ।

उदै उत्तमं तदात्तं चेत्युदात्तं समृद्धिः । यथा—

वास्तूकस्य दर्लेशयेन गमिता येन क्षपा शारदी  
तस्य श्रीफलपल्लवैरभिनवैरभ्यर्चतः<sup>८१</sup> पार्वतीम् ।  
बालैः कीर्णमितस्ततो मरकतस्तोमं गृहप्राङ्गणे  
दूर्वाकाण्डकलापमुग्धमनसो जिघ्रान्ति केलीमृगाः ॥

आशयप्रकर्ष ईति केचित्<sup>८२</sup> । यथा—

भरतेन भुजादुर्वी हसता प्रतिपादिता ।  
नताननेन रामेण नीता नीतिबैलौगता ॥

तदसत् । उदारगुणोतिव्याप्तेः । न हि गुणस्यालङ्कारत्वं लक्षणभेदात् । बहुनामेकत्र क्रमेण समावेशः पर्यायः । यथा—

सूत्रं तस्याः समजनि वयोभाषितं तत्र भाष्यं  
तस्मिन्धेतोविलसितमिदं वार्तिकं तर्कयामः ।  
टीका शङ्के पुनरुच्यते तत्र नेत्रान्तपातस्  
तस्मिन्जातः कुषल्यदशो बाहुपाशो निबन्धः ॥

वयसि सर्वेषां समावेशः ।



एकस्य बहुर्षु क्रमशो निवेशो वा पर्यायः । यथा तातचरणानाम्—

मन्येऽरण्ये कुलगिरिगुहागह्वरे पर्यटन्ती  
विद्धा दभैः किमपि चरणे वासुदेवस्य कीर्तिः ।  
इन्दौ कुन्दे कमलमुकुले चामरे चन्दने वा  
दत्त्वा दत्त्वा मृदुनि पुरतः पादमेषा प्रयाति ॥

प्रस्तुतस्य भङ्ग्यन्तरेणाभिधानं पर्यायोक्तिः । [ यथा ]—

कर्पूरपूरोपमकान्तिवृन्दे चन्द्रे समुन्मीलति राधिकायाः ।  
कायस्य कम्पस्य बभूव मैत्र्यं मानस्य चित्तस्य च वैरमासीत् ॥

मानभङ्गो भङ्ग्यन्तरेणाक्तः ।

अविरुद्धयोर्विरुद्धयोरिव भौनं विरोधाभासः । स च द्रव्यगुणाक्रियानिष्ठः । न च 'चन्दनं दहनं' इत्यत्रातिव्याप्तिः ।  
तस्य विरुद्धरूपकत्वात् ।

जगद्विजयविद्यातचापटङ्कारकारिणि ।  
अनङ्गोऽप्यङ्गवानथ त्वयि दृष्टे विलोकिताः ॥

भावरसपरिपोषो 'रसवत्' । यथा—

उद्धर्तितेव कनकैः स्नातेव द्युतिचयैस्तडिताम् ।  
नीराजितेव केतककान्तिभिरवलोक्यते सुभ्रूः ॥

<sup>१०२</sup> एवं नवसु स्थायिभावैर्वैर्व गतव्यम् ।

उचितादिङ्कृतिरुज्ज्वल<sup>१०३</sup> । यथा—

अम्भोधिलङ्घनविलासविजृम्भमाण—  
रोमाङ्कुरप्रथिततारकविभ्रमेण ।  
लङ्कापुरं समुपगत्य निराकरोति  
स्वेदोदबिन्दुपटलानि हसन् हनूमान् ॥

प्रस्तुतानिष्ठोऽप्रस्तुतप्रस्तावोऽप्रस्तुतस्तोत्रम् । न च समासोक्तावातिव्याप्तिः । तस्या अन्यापदेशमात्रविषयत्वात् ।

नार्यं मुञ्चति सुभ्रुवामपि तनुत्यागे वियोगज्वरस्  
तेनाहं विहिताज्जलिर्यदुपते पृच्छामि सत्यं वद ।  
ताम्बूलं कुसुमं पटीरमुदकं यद् बन्धुभिर्दीयते  
स्यादत्रैव परत्र तत् किमु विषज्वालावलीदुःसहम् ॥

शास्त्रार्थप्रश्नोऽप्रस्तुतः प्रस्तुतो यात्राभङ्गः ।

अलससुजलताभिर्नाहतो नागरीभिर्  
भवनदम(?)कानां नातिथिर्वा बभूव ।  
स्वदरिनगरमध्ये संचरंश्चैत्रजन्मा  
जरदङ्गणपीतः क्षीयते गन्धवाहः ॥

प्रस्तुता राजस्तुतिरप्रस्तुतो गन्धवाहः ॥

प्रीतिप्रकाशः प्रेयान् । यर्थी—

धाम वारिधिरदयाममन्तश्चिन्तयतां सताम् ।  
विलोचनपयोधारा मुक्ताहारायते हृदि ॥  
साध्यसाधनोपन्यासोऽनुमानम् ।  
राकाशीतकरः स्मरक्षितिपतेः पीयूषसारं सरः  
प्रायस्तत्र निमज्ज्य रज्यति चिरं लावण्यवन्यद्विपः ।  
एतास्तत्र कलङ्कहस्तकुहरक्षिप्ताम्भसां बिन्दवो  
दश्यन्ते शरकाण्डपाण्डिमचमत्कारत्विषस्तारकाः ॥

१० पूर्वपूर्वस्योत्तरोत्तरस्य कार्यकारणभावः कारणमाला । यथा—

जनस्य विधैव मुखस्य भूषणं विवेकलेशोऽपि न विद्यया विना ।  
विना विवेकं सुकृतं न जायते तपो विना न प्रभवन्ति सम्पदः ॥

विशेष्यगतविशेषणबाहुल्यं परिकरः । न च क्रियाविशेषणबाहुल्येऽव्याप्तिः । तस्यापि विशेष्यपर्यवसितत्वात् । यथा—

उत्पुलकिता कपोले खिन्ना कुचयोर्विलम्बिता<sup>१०</sup> पदयोः ।  
अलसायिता नयनयोः कस्य तपःश्रीः समायाति ॥

संगोपनवचोविन्यासो व्याजोक्तिः । न चार्थगुणे समाधावतिव्याप्तिः । अत्र वचस्तत्र क्रियेति भेदात् । यथा—

पुलकयति गण्डमण्डलमधरदलं किमपि कम्पयति ।  
अलसयति देहमखिलं प्रियसखि हेमन्तैर्वाण्णीवातः ॥

सदसद्विवेकः<sup>११</sup> परिसंख्या । सद्विवेको यथा—

एकं धाम घनश्याममितरत्नैरवद्युति ।  
जानतो मम जायेत कदा हृदि सितासितम् ॥

असद्विवेको यथा—

द्वारि द्वारि मदोद्धतस्य गरलकूरं वचः शृण्वतः  
श्रीगोविन्दपदारविन्दयुगलैर्व्यानं विना तिष्ठतः<sup>१२</sup> ।  
अन्धस्येव सुधांशुसुन्दरमुखीलावर्ण्यैलीलायितं  
किञ्चित्कार्यकरं न मे समभवन्मूढस्य विद्याजितम् ॥

सदसद्विवेको यथा—

दूरीकृत्य कुशोदरीमविरलक्रीडाकलाजित्वरीम्  
जरीकृत्य निकुञ्जमेदुरदरीमीशस्य सेवां कुरु ।  
नो चेन्मोहकपाटपाटनपटोः<sup>१३</sup> संसारकारागृहे  
दुर्वारं भवतः करिष्यति सखे कुद्धो विधिर्बन्धनम् ॥

श्लेषमुखो यथा—

नृपतिमुकुटरत्नज्योतिरुद्योतिपादा—  
म्बुज भवति धरित्रीं रक्षति क्षोणिपाले ।  
कपटकलहकेलीलोलदेवद्विभाजं  
भवति कटकभङ्गः केवलं कामिनीनाम् ॥

उत्तरोत्तरमुत्तमं सारम् । यथा—

संसारसारमवला तस्याः सारं घनाश्लेषः ।

तस्यापि सारमम्बरविरहितवक्षोरुहस्पर्शः ॥

ननूत्तरोत्तरापकर्षादसारमग्न्यलङ्कारं स्यादिति चेत् । न । तैर्ऋषीणां सारपर्यवसितत्वात् ।

प्रकृतविपरीतकारणान्तरोपनिपातः समाधिः । न च हेत्वलङ्कारेऽतिव्याप्तिः । तत्र प्रकृतानुकूलकारणान्तरोपनिपातात् यथा—

किं करोमि सखि केलिकातरे कुङ्कुमलीकृतकरे मुरद्विषि ।

कोपकुण्डलितकामकामुर्मुकुटज्योतिराविरभवत् कलानिधिः ॥

समानसङ्गतिः समः । सा चोत्कर्षापकर्षाभ्याम् । । उभयमपि यथा—

यद्वक्षः श्रीपतेः प्राप कौस्तुभस्तदुणोचितम् ।

शम्भोः कण्ठं विषं लेभे गौरवं तत् पयोनिधेः ॥

विसदृशक्रियमसमम् । तच्च द्रव्यगुणाक्रियानिष्ठम् । अस्य बहवो भेदाः ।

अयं जलधरश्यामो वामोरु तव कुन्तलः ।

दामव्याजेन कामस्य सूते कुन्दोज्ज्वलं यशः ॥

त्वयि पश्यति सायकं नृपाले स्मितधाराधवलीकृतैरपाङ्गैः ।

त्वदरिक्षितिपालकामिनीनां हृदयं हन्त दहन्ति चन्द्रपादाः ॥

आधारावेययोरन्यतराधिक्यमधिकम् । यथा—

यन्नाकाधिपतेर्गजस्य दशनस्याग्रं समुज्जृम्भते

चान्द्री चञ्चति यत् कला प्रतिदिशं यद्योगिराड् भ्राम्यति ।

त्वत्कीर्तैः प्रतिवासरोन्नतिजुषः स्थानं कुतः स्यादिति

ब्रह्माण्डं खनतो विधेस्तदखिलं प्रायः स्फुरीस्फूर्जति ॥

अनाकलितकार्योत्पत्तिरुन्मीलितम् । यथा तातचरणानाम्—

प्रियसखि निखिलेऽपि क्रीडिते बाल्यसन्धौ

समसमयमुदास्ते दुर्विनीतोऽन्तरात्मा ।

अपि च पुलकपाली काचिदालीजनाना—

मपि करतलसङ्गादङ्गमालिङ्गतीव ॥

भङ्गिभिरुपमानप्रतिक्षेपः प्रतीपम् । यथै—

जानीमस्तव केशपाशरचनाश्यामायमानः करः

कापि कापि चकोरचाहनयने यः प्रोज्झि चेतोभुवा ।

तेनाजायत षट्पदस्य पटली पाथोमुचः कन्दली—

ध्वान्तस्य प्रसरः कलापीनिकरः शैवालजालाङ्कुरः ॥



संस्कारजन्यं ज्ञानं सृष्टिः । संस्कारोद्बोधकं कचिददृष्टं कचित्सादृश्यम् । सृष्टिरमुषिततत्तांशा मुषितैतत्तांशा च ।  
सादृश्यं यथा—

अकाण्डनिक्षिप्तनिशातकाण्डमरातिकोदण्डमुदीक्ष्य कश्चित् ।  
स्मरन् प्रकोपश्रुकुटीं प्रियायास्त्रासावरुद्धः सहसावतस्थे ॥

अमुषिततत्तांशा यथा—

स्खलद्वाचः साचिस्मितसुभगवक्त्राभुजस्रवः  
कुचाभोगं प्रान्तच्युतवसनमुत्पश्यति मयि ।

स्मरामो वामाक्ष्याः किमपि तदनङ्गव्यवसितै—  
रपौङ्गैः संजातप्रसवमिव कर्णोत्पल्युगम् ॥

मुषिततत्तांशा यथा—

विपुलश्रमवैरिविपुषः श्लथदोर्वन्धनबन्धुरात्विषः ।  
सुदृशः परिशील्ये कदा कलशाकारमनामृतं महः ॥

तत्त्वेनानुपस्थितेनान्यथाभानं भ्रान्तिः । न चोत्प्रेक्षायामपहुतौ वातिव्याप्तिः । तत्र तत्त्वेनोपस्थितेः । यथा—

कुजोदरे वा धरणीधरे वा न वध्रमुः कुत्र चिरं कुरङ्गाः ।  
विशश्रमुः किन्तु न भुमकायाश्छायासु जालावलिबिभ्रमेण ॥

विरुद्धनानाकोटिकं ज्ञानं संशयैः ।

किं स्मितं किमु दृक्पातं करोमि विधिवद्विधा ।  
नेन्दनालस्तमालो वा सखि कुजे न संशयः ॥

अनुल्लिखितकोटिकं ज्ञानमनव्यवसायः । संशये भ्रमे वा कोटिरुल्लेखात् । यथा—

गण्डमण्डलविलोलकुण्डलैः श्यामतामरसदामदीधितिः ।  
कोऽयमालि वनमालिरागतः स्वेदशालि वपुरातनोति मे ॥

पूर्वपूर्वमुपात्तस्य विशेषणस्योत्तरोत्तरं<sup>१२२</sup> विशेष्यत्वेनोपादानमेकावली । इयं च शब्दालङ्कारो भविष्यतीति तदर्थप्रति-  
पादकशब्दान्तरासहनात् । सा च विधिनिषेधाभ्याम् । यथा—

सैषा पुरी क्रोडशयालुगङ्गा गङ्गा पुरातिशिरोविभूषा ।  
भूषा न केषां कृतदेहशोभा शोभा वधूनां मुदमातनोति ॥  
न तन्मुखं यन्न कृपास्फुरद्वचो न तद्वचो यत्समुपेक्षितत्रपम् ।  
त्रपा न सा<sup>१२३</sup> या च्युतबान्धवस्पृहा स्पृहा न सा या न हरौ प्रवर्तते ॥

समानानां भावः सामान्यम् । भाव ऐकाल्यम् । नातिशयेऽतिव्याप्तिः । तत्रातिसाम्यमत्र तादात्म्यमिति  
भेदात् । यथा—

रामचन्द्र तव कीर्तितेजसा भूयसा ज्ञाहिनभासि निहुते ।  
केलिकौतुककल्याविमोहिनी रोहिणी प्रतिदिशं निरीक्षते ॥

सामान्यकारणानन्तर्भूतात् कारणात् कार्यविशेषो विशेषः । न च विभावनायामतिव्याप्तिः । तत्र कारणं विना कार्योत्पत्तिरत्र<sup>१३३</sup> तु सामान्यकारणं विना कार्योत्पत्तिरिति भेदात् । यथै<sup>१३४</sup>—

आस्यं विवर्जितवनं समुद्रस्तरागो<sup>१३६</sup> विम्बाधरः प्रतिहताञ्जनमक्षियुग्मम् ।  
भालं निरस्ततिलकं<sup>१३७</sup> सैरसं व्रजन्त्याः कान्तिः परन्तु जगदेव वशीकरोति<sup>१३८</sup> ॥

काव्यं लिङ्गं यत्र तत् काव्यलिङ्गम् । काव्यं वाक्यपदार्थौ । तथा च क्वचिद्वाक्यार्थः क्वचित्पदार्थः । पदार्थोऽप्ये-  
कोऽनेकश्च । वाक्यार्थलिङ्गं यथा—

लोकानां विरहज्वरव्यतिकरे धत्से घनां वेदना-  
मेषा ते प्रकृतिः शशाङ्क विदिता तेनाहमभ्यर्थये ।  
धाम ध्यातवतस्तुषारपवले मौलौ जटाले वसन्  
विच्छिष्टस्य जगत्प्रिया न भगवन् सन्तापमन्तवह ॥

सन्तापकरत्वे वाक्यार्थो लिङ्गम् । एकपदार्थलिङ्गं यथा—

श्रोतुं यशस्ते सुरगीयमानं गृहे गृहे भ्राम्यति भोगिराजे ।  
वीतोपवीतो विधिवद्विधातुं तमांसि<sup>१३९</sup> नाचामति चन्द्रचूडः ॥

अनाचमने वीतोपवीतत्वं लिङ्गम् । अनेकपदार्थलिङ्गं यथा—

बाल्ये ज्ञानविपर्ययस्तनुभृतां शक्तिच्युतिर्वार्धके  
क्रान्तं यौवनमर्धकं रजनिभिः कालः कियंस्तिष्ठति ।  
यद्यस्मिन्नपि पुत्रलालनसुहृत्सर्लापकान्तारति-  
द्रव्योपाजर्जनभूपतिप्रणतयो विष्णोः कदा संस्मृतिः ॥

विष्णोः सेवाविरहे पुत्रलालनादीनां हेतुता ।

यदपायकरणं तदेवोपार्थिकरणं व्याघातः । न च विरोधोऽङ्कुर्यम् । अत्र ध्वंसोत्पादौ तत्र विरुद्धानां संसर्ग-  
इति भेदात् ।

तव दृष्टिस्तनोत्प्रेषा तापं तरललोचने ।  
दृष्टिरेव पुनः शैत्यमुपाजर्गयति चेतसः ॥

विरुद्धानामेकत्र संसर्गो विरोधः । तत्राविरुद्धयोर्विरुद्धयोरिव भानम् । अत्र विरुद्धत्वेनैव विरुद्धानामिति विरोधा-  
भासाद्भेदः । अस्त्ये बहुवो भेदाः । यथा—

चक्रवाककलानाथचन्द्ररीकपयोमुचः ।  
अर्मात्या इव कामस्य सेवायै समुपागताः ॥

एकैत्र चक्रवाकादीनां संसर्गः ।

भाविकं भावस्तात्पर्यम् । अयं प्रबन्धनिष्ठो गुणः । आरम्भादन्त्यावधि तात्पर्यनिर्वाहः । यथा माघे  
शिञ्जपालवधः ।

आत्मीयवस्तुदानपूर्वकं परकीयवस्तुदानं परिवृत्तम् । यद्यप्याशयप्रकर्ष एवायमन्यथा सर्वस्वदानादावतिदानस्या-  
त्यलङ्कारत्वं स्यादिति । यथा—

एक एवार्पितो बाणस्त्वया प्रत्यर्थिभूपतौ ।  
पञ्च प्रत्यर्पितास्तेन प्राणास्त्वयि महीपते ॥

परस्परमुत्कर्षजननमन्योन्यम् । उत्कर्ष इत्युपलक्षणम् । वैरस्पर्धादयोऽप्यवगन्तव्याः । यथै—

कंसारिकमलकान्तकृष्णकैटभवैरिणाम् ।

अर्थस्य भूषणं शब्दः शब्दस्यार्थो विभूषणम् ॥

प्रश्नानुमापकं प्रत्युत्तरमुत्तरम् । न चेदमनुमानम् । पक्षधर्मादीनामभावात् । न चैवं प्रश्नानुमापकक्रियायां क्रिया-  
लङ्कारः स्यादिति वाच्यम् । तस्याः सूक्ष्मालङ्कारत्वात् । यथा—

प्रविचलदलिकुलसङ्कुलवकुलदलोमोदमेदुरप्रान्तम् ।

दरविकचहेमकेतकपुञ्जं दूती निकुञ्जमस्तौषीत् ॥

सा कुत्रास्तीति पृच्छमानं पुरुषं प्रति दूतीवचनेमिदम् ।

सूक्ष्मं क्रियानिष्ठमुत्तरनिष्ठं वा । अव्यक्तचेष्टया एव सूक्ष्मत्वात् । तदिदमपि सूक्ष्ममेवेति ।

सपक्षपक्षपातिवैपक्ष्यं प्रत्यनीकम् । यथा—

निर्जितोऽसि वदनेन सुभ्रुवस्तच्च मे हृदयमेत्य तिष्ठति ।

तेन निर्देहसि निर्देयं मनश्चन्द्र ते तदुचितं कलावताम् ।

उपाधिगुणसंक्रमस्तद्वृणः । गुणासंक्रमोऽतद्वृणः । क्रमेणोदाहरणे—

चन्द्रकान्तभवनस्य कान्तिमिश्रचन्द्रतां व्रजति चन्द्रदीधितिः ।

यत्र केलिकुरुविन्दमन्दिरज्योतिषा पुनरुपैति सूर्यताम् ॥

वाडवेनापि यद् व्याप्तः शीत एव पयोनिधिः ।

अङ्कनिःशङ्कसुसत्य महिमासौ मुरद्विषः ॥

शब्दस्य नानार्थता भेदः । श्लिष्टं शब्दालङ्कार इति ततो भेदः । यथै—

कलावति करं विभ्रत्यम्बरे लोकतारकम् ।

वारुणोसङ्गता सन्ध्या सहसा मानमत्यजत् ॥

प्रस्तुतप्रतिक्षेप आक्षेपः । तस्य च वृत्तो वर्तमानो वर्तिष्यमाणो विषयः । स च विधिमुखः संशयमुखः शान्ति-  
मुखः करुणामुखश्चेत्यादयोऽनन्ता भेदाः । क्रमेणोदाहरणानि—

यात्रालभं तव स्वामिन् साधु साधु न संशयः ।

वनितायतने यत्र वर्तते मङ्गलोदयः ॥

विधिमुखेन वर्तमाना यात्राक्षिप्यते १६१ । यथा तातचरणानाम्—

मदकलकृतान्तकासरखुरपुटनिर्धूतधूलिसङ्काशम् ।

केतकरजो निवार्य यदि सखि कार्यं मम प्राणैः ॥

करुणामुखेनागामिकेतकसम्बन्धो निवार्यते ।

किमर्थं नवकोरकस्तमालः किमर्थं शीकरशीतलः पयोदः ।

अहमालिं परन्तु तर्कयामि स्मितधरिणिकलिताननो मुरारिः ॥

संशयमुखेन विकल्प आक्षिप्यते ।



क्षोणीपर्यटनं श्रमाय विदुषां वादाय विद्यार्जिता  
मानश्चंसनहेतवे परिचितास्ते ते धराधीश्वराः ।

विश्लेषाय सरोजसुन्दरदशामास्ये कृता दृष्टयः  
कुक्षानेन मया प्रयागनगरे नाराधि नारायणः ॥

शान्तिमुखेनातीता क्रियाक्षियते ।

अर्थोपकारको दीपकः । स च द्रव्यगुणक्रियानिष्ठः । यथैकः प्रदीपोऽनेकान्पदार्थान्प्रकाशयति तथैकं द्रव्यमेका  
गुण एका क्रियानेकार्थान्प्रकाशयति । गुणनिष्ठो यथा—

चरणे कटकं कर्णे कुण्डलं कङ्कणं करे ।  
गौरं तव तनोः कान्स्पर्शं स्पर्शादेवानुमीयते ॥

गौरस्त्वमेको गुणोऽनेकेः पदार्थाः ।

कारकः समस्तोऽसमस्तश्च । समस्तः समस्तानसमस्तोऽसमस्तान् दीपयतीति विशेषः । असमस्तदीपकं यथा—

मेखलीयति मोदिन्याः ककुभः कङ्कणीयति ।  
हयस्ते मण्डलीकुर्वज्जगत्याः कुण्डलीयति ॥

एकं कारकमनेकाः क्रियाः ।

उषसि मुखचन्द्रवीक्षणयाचिनि मयि<sup>१६५</sup>सौपि सुभ्रवो जीयात् ।  
अलसायमानखज्जनपरिषत्पाण्डित्यखण्डिनी<sup>१६६</sup>दृष्टिः ॥

एकौ परिषदनेके समस्ताः पदार्थाः ।

उत्तरोत्तरार्थस्य पूर्वपूर्वापेक्षा दीपकमाला ।

स्मरेण सुरभिस्तेन रसालस्तेन मञ्जरी ।  
तया किमपि सौरभ्यं तेनासादि जगत्त्रयम् ॥

क्रियोदाहरणमप्येतदेव ।

अङ्गाङ्गिभावापन्नानालङ्कारस्थितिः सङ्करः । यथा—

भूयो भूयः स्फटिकघटितं केलिसङ्केतसौधं  
दृष्ट्वा<sup>१६७</sup> दृष्ट्वा चकितचकितैः प्रेक्षितैः क्षौर्मरोचिः ।  
पश्चिद्भृत् प्रियतममथ प्रेक्ष्य पश्चात्कृताक्षी  
सारङ्गाक्षी विहसितमुखी यत्र उभ्रीकरोति ॥

अत्र भ्रान्तिरलङ्कारस्तदङ्गतया तदुणोऽलङ्कारः ।

अङ्गाङ्गिभावानापन्नानालङ्काराणामवस्थितिः संसृष्टिः । यथै—

उद्यत्केसरदण्डमण्डितशशिश्चेतातपत्रं वहन्  
मायूरव्यजनायमानजलदश्रेणी समीरः श्रयन् ।  
लीलादौरितित्यदपैर्मुकुटभ्रान्त्या त्विषामीश्वरं  
पश्यल्लोलविलोचनो नरहरिर्देवः शिवायास्तु वः ॥

रूपकोपमाभ्रान्तिस्त्वैवैविशेषो [ कस्य ] लङ्काराः ।

अर्थालङ्कारेष्वर्थसंसृष्टिरिव शब्दलङ्कारेषु शब्दसंसृष्टिरवगन्तव्या । ननु शब्दालङ्कारेष्वर्थालङ्कारेषु चोभयसंसृष्टि-  
स्त्विति चेत् । न । अर्थालङ्कारस्य शब्दावृत्तित्वं शब्दालङ्कारस्य चार्थावृत्तित्वमिति नियमात् ।

यथा—

मैथिलीं त्यज तदग्रतः कुतः सैनिकं दर्शयितुं क्व वा भवान् ।  
आगते दिनमणौ क्व तारका तारैकाङ्कितरुचिः क्व चन्द्रमाः ॥

अत्रोक्तिच्छेकयमकालङ्काराः ।

समुदितार्थ-विशेषणक्रिय-उपसंहारोक्ति-तर्काः परेऽलङ्काराः ।

अव्ययाभ्यां समुदिताभ्यामिदार्थमुपस्थापितं तत् समुदितार्थम् । यथा—

कालः स एष हसितद्युतिभिः सुधांशोः  
कोपं प्रकाशयति किं च रविप्रभाभिः ।  
अद्यापि धीरतरनीरधराभिराम  
किं नाम राम तव चेतसि नानुरागः ॥

अद्यापि किं नामेति समुदितार्थः ।

विशेष्यगतोऽर्थः क्रियाविशेषणीभूय यत्र भासते तद्विशेषणक्रियम् । यथा—

भिक्षाचारिणि कुञ्जचारिणि जटाजूटप्रसंचारिणि  
त्वद्विद्वेषिणि पारगामिनि पुरारातिभ्रमे जाग्रति ।  
तीव्रश्वासगति स्खलन्मति गलत्रेत्राम्बुधारातति  
म्लायद्दीधिति सिन्धुरिन्दुमसकृद् गोपायितुं काङ्क्षति ॥

मुखे स्तुतिरुपसंहारे निन्दा मुखे निन्दोपसंहारे स्तुतिरुभयथाप्युपसंहारोक्तिः<sup>१८६</sup> । यथा—

जयति जलदलेखानिर्विशेषा तनुस्ते  
दशनयुर्गुम्फदारस्तम्भगम्भीरैर्कान्ति ।  
उभयमपि करीन्द्र व्यर्थमेव प्रतीमो  
यदि भवति शिशूनामङ्कुशस्य प्रहारः ॥  
नीराणि नक्रवडवानलदूषितानि  
तीराणि दुस्तरतरङ्गदुस्तराणि ।  
श्लाघ्यं किमस्य जलधेयं यदि नैष सूनु —  
राशाप्रसाधनकरो रजनीकरः स्यात् ।

औपम्येतिस्तर्कः ।

भूषाभरं सरोजाद्या सहेत किमु वा पुनः ।  
मुखाद् भूषाशशिप्रावस्यन्दसेको न चेद्भवेत् ॥

शुभाशंसाशीः । यथा तातचरणानाम्—

मैत्रेयमाल्यधिया सुधाकरकलां कण्ठश्रियं कञ्जल-  
भ्रान्त्या भालविलोचनानलशिखां सिन्दूरपूराशया ।

कैलासप्रतिविम्बिता स्ववपुषो गृह्णन् हसन्त्या मुहुः

पार्वत्याः परिकर्मकमणि चिरं मुग्धो हरः पातु नः ॥

समयदेशप्रकृतिप्रत्ययसर्वनामोपसर्गवचनप्रत्यभिज्ञानविशेषणविशेष्यक्रियोपमानरूपकोत्प्रेक्षावाक्यार्थपदार्थपदवर्णरी-  
तिवाक्येष्टोक्तिव्यङ्ग्यप्रकरणादीनि अन्यानि चानन्तानि व्यञ्जकान्युद्गीतानि । उद्देश्यमखिलं व्यङ्ग्यमेव कर्तव्यम् ।  
तस्य वाच्यत्वे काव्यस्याधमत्वापत्तिः ।

समयदेशव्यङ्ग्यं यथा—

निरालोकमिदं व्योम लोकशून्यं निकेतनम् ।

वीताशोकमिदं कुञ्जं कुतस्तदृणि ताम्यसि ॥

निरालोकेन निशा वीताशोकेन देशः । स्त्रीणामकालकलिकोद्गमताशोको वैरी ।

उपमानप्रत्याभिज्ञानप्रकृतिप्रत्ययसर्वनामवचनव्यङ्ग्यानि यथा—

दूति केयमनुनेतुमागता क्षालिता हिमकरत्विषा दिशः ।

सोऽयमिन्दुमुखि नन्दनन्दनः कुन्दकुञ्जमुपगत्य तिष्ठति ॥

दूतिका न तु दूत्य इति वचनव्यङ्ग्यम् । इयं नान्येति सर्वनामव्यङ्ग्यम् । आगता नागमिव्यति इति प्रत्यय-  
व्यङ्ग्यम् । प्रत्यभिज्ञावस्थाविशेषो व्यङ्ग्यः । तिष्ठतीति प्रकृत्या न स्थास्यतीति व्यङ्ग्यम् । इन्दुमया मुखस्याह्ला-  
दकरत्वं व्यङ्ग्यम् ।

रूपकव्यङ्ग्यं यथा—

तडित् कान्ता पयःसम्पद् गर्जितं गर्वजल्पितम् ।

संसारोऽयं पयोर्वाहः किमतोऽपि विलम्बसे ॥

चापत्यमत्र व्यङ्ग्यम् । करपलत्र इत्यादौ च सौकुमार्यलौहियादिकं व्यङ्ग्यम् ।

उत्प्रेक्षाव्यङ्ग्यं यथा—

अरण्यहरिणग्राममाचक्राम हुताशनः ।

इन्दोः क्रोडमृगं धर्तुमिव धूमो ययौ नभः ॥

हुताशनस्येव धूमस्य प्रागल्भ्यं व्यज्यते ।

विशेषणविशेष्यव्यङ्ग्यं यथा—

कौरवास्त्यजत गौरवं<sup>१६</sup> यतो गौरवं<sup>१७</sup> समिति वः प्रयास्यति ।

अप्रतो यदयमर्जुनाप्रजः पाणियोजितशरः समाययौ ॥

अर्जुनाप्रजेन विशेष्येण रिपुक्षयो व्यज्यते ।<sup>१</sup> पाणियोजितशरेणेति विशेषणेन सामग्रीसान्निव्यं व्यज्यते ।

व्यङ्ग्यव्यङ्ग्यं यथा—

क सुधौष्टः क चैष्टः क शक्रः क च दिग्गजः ।

हस्तन्यस्तगदो भीमो यदि शोणविलोचनः ॥

नयनशोणिम्ना कोपस्तेन च रिपुक्षयो व्यज्यते ।



उपसर्गव्यङ्ग्यं यथा—

उदयति मयि मानबन्धमन्तर्विदधति वामदशः किमाचरामि ।  
इति विहसति<sup>१०१</sup> शारदः सुधाञ्छर्विकसितकान्तिकलापकैतवेन ॥

अत्रोपसर्गाणामर्थविशेषो व्यङ्ग्यः ।

उपमानविशेषणव्यङ्ग्यं यथा—

स्वर्णदीप्तिन्धुसंसर्गखेलादिदीवरद्युतिं ।  
राधायाः क्रोडमायान्त्याः कदा पर्येम लोचनम् ॥

उपमानविशेषणेन उपमेयैर्लक्ष्यं विशेषो व्यज्यते ।

वैकिंथार्यपदार्थवाक्येष्टाव्यङ्ग्यान्मुदाहृतानि । कठोरवर्णेन वीरादिः सुकुमारेण शृङ्गारादिः गौज्या वीरादिवैदभ्यां  
शृङ्गारादिव्यज्यते ।

उक्तिव्यङ्ग्यं यथा—

विद्युद्गारिधरं विलोक्य किमिति त्रासाकुला वर्तते<sup>१०२</sup>  
दूरादम्बरमाहरेत्यविरतेनारैर्मुहुः सिञ्चति ।  
इत्थं गोपकुलं निरीक्ष्य सविधे लीलालतामण्डपे  
राधामाधवयोरुदञ्चति मिथो वैदग्ध्यमुग्धं वचः ॥

पदव्यङ्ग्यं यथा—

प्रातर्विनिमयं वीक्ष्य मुक्ताहारसुजङ्गयोः ।  
शिवौ शिवौर्ध्वं जगतामन्तर्विकसितस्मितौ ॥

शिवपदेन श्रेयोदातृत्वं व्यज्यते ।

प्राचां वचांसि विलसन्ति तथापि मातः  
प्रीतिं सरस्वति मदीयकृतौ विदध्याः ।  
रत्नानि यद्यपि जयन्ति तथापि कान्ता—  
स्तालीदलं श्रवणभूषणमावहन्ति ॥

विबुधाः पद्यसूत्रेण गुम्फितालङ्कारिर्मया ।  
सूत्रभङ्गो यथा न स्यादेतैर्स्याः कल्येत्तैर्था ॥  
दण्डीयति यतो दण्डी वामनीयति वामनः ।  
तदलङ्कारतिलकं धीराः कुर्वन्तु भूषणम् ॥

इति श्रीभानुदैतैविरचितेऽलङ्कारतिलकेऽर्थालङ्कारानिरूपणं नाम  
पञ्चमः परिच्छेदः ॥

## VARIANT READINGS

### IV

१ शब्दालङ्काराः B; C adds निरूप्यन्ते. २ कचिव् AC. ३ मुद्रोक्ति C. ४ Here B adds अतिरिक्ता. ५ 'कारः B. ६ 'सा च' इत्यारभ्य 'न च वक्रोक्तिः' इत्यन्तं नास्ति A. ७ omitted B. ८ क्री AC. ९ क्री AC. १० A breaks with पद. ११ नयति C. १२ 'रा' B. १३ 'रोपपत्तेः C. १४ चातिव्याप्तेः C. १५ Omitted B. १६ Omitted C. १७ नव' C. १८ Omitted C. १९ समानवर्णा श्रुतिः C. २० घा C. २१ तत्र C. २२ तात्पर्यम् C. २३ आवर्त B. २४ 'योर्विण्णवृत्तौ C. २५ Omitted B. २६ नताङ्ग्याः C. २७ वृत्त्यनुप्रासः B. २८ 'मिव C. २९ सिद्धि C. ३० ती C. ३१ Omitted C. ३२ विरहो जरयति C. ३३ Omitted C. ३४ 'क' C. ३५ चिरं C; वीरं B. ३६ Omitted C. ३७ कामः C. ३८ कुतस्तु B. ३९ 'बाण' C. ४० छेकनिष्ठस्वरानुप्रासो यथा तातचरणानाम् C. ४१ यत्र B. ४२ Omitted B. ४३ एवं C. ४४ 'स इति' B. ४५ एव C. ४६ निखिले' C. ४७ च C. ४८ This whole expression omitted C. ४९ 'पादनिष्ठं यमकं C. ५० 'मानवी' इत्यारभ्य 'द्विपादयमकं यथा' इत्यन्तं नास्ति C. ५१ सुदारुण C. ५२ 'समानं' C. ५३ तेजसा C. ५४ 'नी B. ५५ 'नी B. ५६ 'वनं B. ५७ 'वनं B. ५८ यमकस्य पदानियमक एवावगन्तव्यम् । अनुप्रासस्येव छेकवृत्तिमालायमकस्यापि छेकोपदर्शिता माला । एकाक्षरद्व्यक्षरादिवृत्तित्वं यथा— न मुजने यनेनेयनेनजले रविद्युति-विकस्वरपद्मलश्रियः । चुकुर एष कुतस्तव वर्ण्यतां स्मरकलापकलापकायजित् ॥' इत्यधिकं दृश्यते C. ५९ 'वचनलिङ्ग' इत्यादि 'समाश्रति' इत्यन्तं नास्ति C. ६० Omitted C. ६१ Omitted C. ६२ यथा B. ६३ 'चण्डि' B. ६४ Omitted B. ६५ मालु' C. ६६ 'मातनोति C. ६७ Omitted C. ६८ 'द्वितीये' इत्यारभ्य 'द्रव्ययोजना' इत्यन्तं नास्ति B. ६९ Omitted C. ७० 'सूतु' C. ७१ 'जे C. ७२ 'रुक्ता C. ७३ आर्था' B. ७४ Omitted C. ७५ 'जे C. ७६ Omitted C. ७७ 'मपगतम् B. ७८ 'निदानं C. ७९ ध्यायेदामनि-धानं C. ८० भुवनं C. ८१ एवं प्रेक्ष्यमभिनेयं नाट्यालङ्कारे प्रयोजकम् । B. ८२ इति श्री. भा. क. मि. वि. लं. र. शब्दालङ्कारानिरूपणो नाम चतुर्थः । B.

### V

१ C adds आक्षेप after आवृत्ति. २ Omitted C. ३ From 'असङ्कति' upto 'सद्वोक्ति' Omitted C. ४ Omitted C. ५ C adds परिश्रुति after व्याघात. ६ Omitted C. ७ Omitted C. ८ Omitted C. ९ Omitted C. १० त्यक्त C. ११ दिक्पा' C. १२ वी C. १३ B adds इति. १४ इयं पङ्क्तिः नास्ति C. १५ क्रीड' B. १६ यथा Omitted C. १७ 'मथापस्यन्न' C. १८ चेदं C. १९ 'पदा' C. २० क्षरे C. २१ यदि Omitted C. २२ गुणः C. २३ लक्ष्मी' C. २४ पंच C. २५ एकोपमाप्यवगन्तव्यम् C. २६ 'वाचको' C. २७ 'धेन C. २८ निरुच्यन्ते B. २९ 'रोपमानभव C. ३० Omitted C. ३१ 'दे' C. ३२ Omitted C. ३३ अथवा C. ३४ 'च्छति C. ३५ Omitted C. ३६ 'धिकला B. ३७ Omitted B. ३८ चेति B. ३९ Omitted C. ४० गन्तुं C. ४१ करोदयः B. ४२ अवकार' C. ४३ कुसुम' C. ४४ विश्रम B. ४५ Omitted B. ४६ 'रूप्य' C. ४७ 'रूपक' C. ४८ 'मुखचन्द्र' इत्यारभ्य 'रूपकयोरुपस्थितिः' इत्यन्तं नास्ति B. ४९ B adds here 'मुखचन्द्र इति विशेष्यनिष्ठं छत्तसादृश्यत्वं नयनारविन्द इन्द्र इति विशेषणनिष्ठमलससादृश्यं'. ५० विद्युदृशा BC. ५१ 'रामक्षोणिपतेः' इत्यारभ्य 'पूर्णोत्प्रेक्षा यथा' इत्यन्तं नास्ति B. ५२ B adds एषैव पूर्णोत्प्रेक्षा ; स्थलनिर्वाहः पूर्णता C. ५३ द्रवकलाकोड' C. ५४ 'रोहिता C. ५५ क्रिया' B. ५६ 'भवति B. ५७ B adds इति. ५८ Omitted B. ५९ एतत् पद्यं नास्ति B. ६० एतत् पद्यं नास्ति C. ६१ तदरत्येव B. ६२ तस्याः C. ६३ पाणिः C. ६४ क्वचित्सामान्यस्य विशेषेण क्वचिद्विशेषस्य सामान्येन समर्थनामिति विशेषः C. ६५ 'न्वे B. ६६ 'क्षमः B. ६७ 'द्वक्स' C.

६८१ 'रिपो' C. ६९ भुजंगपरिग्रहेणपि को विवादः C. ७० समान omitted C. ७१ नं समासोक्तिः B. ७२ Omitted B. ७३ 'दुष्ट' C. ७४ Omitted C. ७५ 'तां' B. ७६ 'विद्यते' B. ७७ 'सापेक्ष' C. ७८ 'हान्ते' C. ७९ 'रीक्षते' B. ८० 'यदिते' B. ८१ निर्गच्छ B. ८२ Omitted C. ८३ 'मुप' C. ८४ अपहन्ति C. ८५ विविधः B. ८६ Omitted C. ८७ 'वं' B. ८८ लक्ष्मी C. ८९ 'विषयः' C. 'विषम' B. ९० उत B, उत C. ९१ वास्तकस्य C, वास्तु कस्य B. ९२ दशाशयेन B. ९३ 'भ्यचितिः' C. ९४ Omitted C. ९५ नीतिर्वनागतताम् C. ९६ Omitted C. ९७ प्रतिमानं B. ९८ 'परिणामो' C. ९९ Omitted B. १०० Omitted B. १०१ 'ध्वेवाव' B. १०२ उपहतां C. १०३ 'स्वी' B. १०४ Omitted C. १०५ धारं C. १०६ पूर्वस्य पूर्वस्योत्तरस्योत्तरस्य B. १०७ विलिम्बिता B, विलम्बिता C. १०८ हेमत B, हेमत C. १०९ 'द्विचारः' C. ११० 'युगुल' C. १११ सीदतः C. ११२ 'वक्त्रेन्दु' B. ११३ 'पटौ' B. ११४ तस्याप्युदीच्यस्य B. ११५ कुण्डलीं B. ११६ 'पमः' C. ११७ चान्द्रि' C, चान्द्रीचन्ति B. ११८ ब्रह्माण्डस्ववळतोस्तदळविप्रायस्फुरीस्फुर्यतम् C. ११९ स्युर्जति B. १२० बन्धौ B. १२१ Omitted C. १२२ Omitted C. १२३ परागैः C. १२४ 'अम' B. १२५ तत्र तत्र B. १२६ 'यालङ्कारः' B. १२७ नटं B. १२८ 'ल' B. १२९ उत्तरोत्तरं omitted C. १३० पुनरुपादानं C. १३१ 'रानुपादानात्' B. १३२ Omitted C. १३३ 'सा या' इत्यरभ्य 'भाव ऐ' इत्यन्तं नास्ति C. १३४ 'त्ते' B. १३५ Omitted C. १३६ 'वर्णो' C. १३७ सरसो C. १३८ 'तु' B. १३९ Omitted C. १४० शिवात्मकत्वे वाक्यार्थो लिङ्ग एवार्थो लिङ्गं यथा C. १४१ तमांसि B. १४२ एतद् वाक्यं नास्ति C. १४३ तदर्थेनापायकरणं B. १४४ 'धालङ्कार' B. १४५ एतद् वाक्यं नास्ति C. १४६ विरुद्धानां प्रियो योगो वियोगो मे कथं पुनः । C. १४७ एतद् वाक्यं नास्ति C. १४८ Omitted B. १४९ शब्दोऽर्थस्य C. १५० सूक्ष्मत्वात् C. १५१ 'लता' C. १५२ समीहमानं C. १५३ दूतिकाया B. १५४ च C. १५५ 'धेरुण' C. १५६ पत्र C. १५७ अङ्गनिःसङ्ग- C. १५८ शब्दभङ्गिः C. १५९ Omitted C. १६० Omitted C. १६१ निषिध्यते B. १६२ शीतल. शीकरः C. १६३ 'धारालमुखासुजो' B. १६४ कान्त्याः B. १६५ कुण्डलीयति C. १६६ सावि C. १६७ निद्राणनीलनीरजपरि' C. १६८ 'शालिनी' B. १६९ एतद् वाक्यं नास्ति C. १७० 'थी' B. १७१ दृष्टा दृष्टा C; B has only दृष्टा. १७२ श्यामं C. १७३ प्रत्यावृत्तं C. १७४ 'द्वुणतया' C. १७५ 'वापन्ना' B. १७६ Omitted C. १७७ 'दीरिव' B. १७८ 'शुक्लमुकृट' C. १७९ स्वभावाख्यानं B. १८० 'रुमेया' B. १८१ 'शब्दालङ्कारे' इत्यारभ्य 'शब्दावृत्तिर्व' इत्यन्तं नास्ति C. १८२ 'खः' B. १८३ तारकान्तिरुचिरः B. १८४ 'कारिणि' B. १८५ 'जुटाटवीधारिणि' B. १८६ 'पसंहारः' C. १८७ अजनि B. १८८ 'मिदमु' C. १८९ 'न्तिम्' B. १९० किमास्ति C. १९१ This and the following two lines are omitted B. १९२ अस्य पदस्य स्थाने अपरं पद्यं दृश्यते यथा — 'अये पांड्यक्रीडा विरमति न तेऽद्यापि यदि वा मुखं वक्षो दिग्धं जघनमपि धूलीपरिकरैः । इति श्रुत्वा वचनमळलाधीशतया नमन्ती सत्रीडा हरभस्तिभग्यावतु जनान् । C. १९३ एतद् वाक्यं नास्ति C. १९४ 'हा' C. १९५ भूमेः B. १९६ कौं B. १९७ कौं C. १९८ एतद् वाक्यं नास्ति C. १९९ चण्डांशः C. २०० शीतांशुः C. २०१ विहसितशारदः C. २०२ सर्वदां B. २०३ 'तिः' C. २०४ Omitted B. २०५ अयं परिच्छेदो नास्ति C. २०६ 'से' C. २०७ 'विरतौ' C. २०८ शिवामजायेतां B. २०९ 'देनस्य' B. २१० कलसस्तु यथा C. २११ एतद् पद्यं नास्ति B. २१२ 'भानुकरमिश्रविर' B.



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## THE AVATĀRA SYNCRETISM AND POSSIBLE SOURCES OF THE BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ.

BY D. D. KOSAMBI.

1. In two previous communications, the existence of an element in ancient Indian tradition, hostile to Aryan and kṣatriya superiority, has been demonstrated (JBBRAS vols. xxii, xxiii). This clearly Brāhmanical element has resulted in a complete rewriting of some important stories. Some of this revision is post-Buddhistic, but its beginnings can be shown to go back to a period centuries earlier. Therefore, both the caste system and the work of revision must be regarded as consequences of the Aryan conquest, after which the priest class of the conquered was assimilated to the priesthood of the conquerors. This thesis implies that some even of the later documents contain a germ of pre-Aryan myth and legend, sometimes with a historical foundation. To restore this tradition in the face of successive revision as in the purāṇas and to evaluate its former historical content means an analysis far beyond the scope of this note. Here, I merely call attention to another stage of the process itself. Of course, alternative explanations such as "nature-myths" have been offered for most of the legends, but they explain nothing, and it is more plausible to assume that the similarity with a natural event reinforced a story that had some real happening as its basis in human history; in some sense, the oldest myths record human experience.

Crucial in the peculiar Brāhmanic synthesis in its present form is the *avatāra* theory, the incarnations of Viṣṇu. These are generally taken as the following ten: (1) *matsya*, the Fish (2) *kūrma*, the Tortoise; (3) *varāha*, the Boar; (4) *narasiṃha*, the Man-Lion; (5) *vāmana*, the Dwarf; (6) *Parasurāmā*; (7) *Rāma*; (8) *Kṛṣṇa*; (9) *Buddha*; (10) *Kalki*. Of these, the last is considered to be in the future, *Buddha* is definitely a historical personage, while the others seem more and more legendary the further back we go in the series. The list is not accepted in the earliest times, nor is it rigid, the most inflated being in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* 1.3 (more ornate, in *vasantatilakā* metre, 2.7), with twenty four official incarnations specially mentioned among an infinity: *avatārā hy asaṃkhyeyā hareḥ sattva-nidher dvi-jāḥ | yathā vidāsinaḥ kulyāḥ sarasaḥ syuḥ sahasraśaḥ ||* (Bh. P. 1.3.26). The purāṇas in general show the infiltration of other incarnations such as *Pramati* in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, which can be accounted for only by the increasing popularity of the *avatāra* syncretism, in addition to the co-existence of several different historical or mythological legends which could not be denied nor forgotten; these had necessarily to be combined to prevent conflict, which meant in most cases pseudo-chronological arrangement of stories along with a universalization of local events. At an early stage there are naturally several such competing arrangements, which allows us to see the patchwork. In this note, I draw principally upon the critical edition of the

Mahābhārata, referred to as Mbh., the Bṛhaddevatā (Bṛd.), and the oldest Brāhmaṇas.

2. The Bhagavadgītā, surely a climactic synthesis, contains two passages giving first the special representations of the god called *vibhūtis* (10.19-42=Mbh. 6.32.19-42), the best of each category; then another showing his universal appearance, the *viśvarūpa* (11.13 ff.). Some of the numina point to a definite sectarian influence: "Of vedas I am the Sāmaveda...of the great ṛṣis I am Bhṛgu...Prahārāda among the Daityas...among the sages Vyāsa, Uśanas Kavi among the poets...". The reference to Bhṛgu with the superfluous occurrence of Paraśurāma in the great epic led V. S. Sukthankar to his theory of a Bhārgava redaction of the Mbh. (Epic Studies VI, ABORI 18.1-76; Sukthankar Memorial Edition I.278-337). The Sāmaveda again may indicate some particular Brāhmanical clan; Vyāsa, reputed author of the Mbh. is an *avatāra* in the Bhāgavata and other Purāṇas, where he or his pupils so often come as narrators. The inclusion of Prahārāda is the strangest of all, because he is the worshipper of Viṣṇu, saved by that god's Man-Lion incarnation. The proper name of the deity at the beginning cannot have been Viṣṇu because that too is a special case: "I am Viṣṇu among the ādityas" says the list of *vibhūtis*.

The tendency to insert more and more incarnations continued long after the period when the Mbh. critical text developed, as is seen by the fact that the entire Vulgate passage relating to the Boar incarnation appears after Mbh. 3.142 only in Bengali and Devanagari groups of MSS. The quite incongruous quarrel between the Rāmas, both incarnations of the same deity, is again an addition in the same BD groups of MSS; significantly, it is Rāma Dāśarathi the kṣatriya who prevails over the Brahmin Paraśurāma, by showing his *viśvarūpa*. These interpolations not only point to a continuous living tradition but prove that not all the incarnations were admitted to equal validity at the earliest stages. Paraśurāma, in spite of the Bhārgavas, cannot have been a full *avatāra* for a long time. Finally, it is easy to show that the earliest incarnation did not relate to Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa but Prajāpati. Mbh. 3.185 gives the story of the Indian Noah, Manu Vaivasvata, saved by the Fish incarnation from the flood, along with the seeds of all future life. The legend is supposedly of Semitic origin, not Indian at all. After Manu's ark has been tied to a peak of the Himālayas the horned Fish says to him: *aham prajāpatir brahmā matparam nādhigamyate | matsyarūpeṇa yūyam ca mayāsmān mokṣitā bhayāt* (3.185.48). The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa i. 8. 1. 1-6 gives a much shorter version of the flood, where the horned fish is not an incarnation of any god as far as the record goes, and Manu is saved alone in his ark. Now Brahmā and Prajāpati might be equated, but never to Nārāyaṇa or to Viṣṇu. The transference is obviously a later act, long after the cult of Brahmā was dead. We may attempt to trace the process in one case, namely the two Gītā passages mentioned.

3. The immediate source of the Gītā is also the prime source of information about Nārāyaṇa himself, a god of the waters, which is not surprising when we consider that the first three incarnations are associated with a flood or the sea. For our purpose,



the vision of Mārkaṇḍeya in Mbh. 3. 186, 187 is the most important prototype of the vision of Arjuna, while we may note in passing that the ṛṣi himself is a Bhārgava. The sage walks alone upon the flood that had destroyed the entire world at the end of the *kali* age and sees the divine infant supported on the branches of a Nyagrodha tree above the waters\*. Drawn into its mouth, he sees the entire universe within, intact with its full complement of beasts, men, and gods (3. 186. 39-112), whereas Arjuna observes the tremendous figure of Kṛṣṇa from without. In both cases the destruction is illusory. In 3. 187, the god speaks in much the same tone as Kṛṣṇa proclaiming his *vibhūti*s, but the representation is not so specialized here as in the Gītā; in some cases the god is the origin rather than the manifestation itself. For the parallels to be more easily drawn, a portion of the passage is given here in translation :

The God spoke: "O Brāhmaṇa, even the gods do not know me in essence. Out of love for thee I shall relate how I create this (1). Thou art an ancestor-worshipper, also hast thou yielded unto me; furthermore, thou hast seen my presence, and thy asceticism is great (2). The waters are called *nārā*, the appellation having been made by me; thence am I called Nārāyaṇa for therein is ever my dwelling (3). O best of the twice-born, I am Nārāyaṇa by name, am the origin, the eternal, the immutable: the creator of all things and their destroyer (4). I am Viṣṇu, I Brahmā, and I śakra (= Indra), the chief of the gods; I am king Vaiśravaṇa, and also am I Yama, lord of the departed (5). I am Śiva and Soma, and Prajāpati Kāśyapa; I am the creator and the arbiter of all fate; I, o best of the twice-born, am the fire-sacrifice (6). The fire is my mouth, the earth my feet, the sun and moon my eyes; the sky with its (cardinal) directions my body, the wind is my mind (7). By me hundreds of proper offerings have been made with the giving of many fees; the veda-learned sacrifice to me in the divine sacrifices of the gods (8). On earth, the chiefs among the kṣatriyas, lords of the earth yearning for heaven, sacrifice to me as do the vaiśyas desirous of heaven (9). This earth, extending to the four seas, embellished by Meru and Mandara (mountains) do I support, having become the (great cobra) Śeṣa (10). In ancient times it was by me, having assumed the Boar form, that this world, sunk under the waters, was heroically uplifted (11). Having become the volcano, it is I, o best of the twice-born, who drink up the waters and create them again (12). By (my) prowess brahma (became my) mouth, kṣatrahood (my) arms, the vaiśyahood sheltered in my thighs; my feet are worshipped by the śūdras (13). The *ṛgveda*, *sāmaveda*, *yajurveda*, and even the *atharvan* originate in me, and it is in me that they re-enter (14). It is me alone that the Brāhmaṇas worship and meditate upon, they that regard calm as supreme, have liberated souls, are freed of lust, wrath, hatred; detached, cleansed of sin, men of character, without pride, ever knowing the eternal principles (15, 16). I am the flame of destruction, I am the destroyer Yama; I am the sun of destruction, I am the destroying wind (17).

\* Psychoanalysts would call the whole scene symbolic of birth, the waters being uterine and the Nyagrodha branches the placenta.

Know, o best of the twice-born, that these seen in the sky in the form of stars are my own symbols (18). Know that the gem-bearing oceans and seas, the four principal directions, are my garments, my bed, my dwelling (19). Lust, wrath, joy, fear as well as cupidity—know excellent one that all of them are really my forms (20). Whatever men obtain, o Brāhmaṇa, by whatever handsome action—truth, charity, austere penance, non-killing towards all living beings—is by my regulations. Dwelling in my body, their understanding permeated by me, do (men) move, not by their own free will (21-22). The twice-born, calm of soul, wrath-conquerors, complete scholars of the vedas gain in sacrificing by various rites (23). This is not to be gained by learned men with evil action, conquered by greed, mean, un-Aryan, impure of soul (24). Know me to be that great reward, the very step of righteous action, difficult to gain for foolish Brāhmaṇas, the path followed by renunciation (*yogaiḥ*) (25). Whenever the way of righteousness becomes faint, and unrighteousness flourishes, then o excellent one do I create a soul (26). Whenever Daityas bent upon killing and Rākṣasas not to be killed by the highest gods come into being (27) then do I take birth in a house of fair actions; having entered into a human body, I restore the tranquility of all (28). Having created gods and men, Gandharvas, Uragas, Rākṣasas, and all immovable creation I exterminate them by my own illusion (*ātmamāyayā*) (29). At the time of action, having thought upon a body, I create again by entering into a human form for the re-establishment of moral bounds (30). Having assumed white (colour) in the *kṛta* age, yellow in the *treta*, red in the *dvāpara*, in the *kali* (I become) black (31). At that time unrighteousness becomes three parts (out of four). The time of the end having come I, becoming most cruel Death, destroy the threefold world, all stable and mobile creation (32). I am he of the three (world-covering) strides, the soul of all, bearer of happiness to all the world; the conqueror, all-pervading, infinite, the thriller (*hr̥ṣīkeṣa*), the best rider (*urūkramaḥ*) (33). I alone turn the wheel of time, I am the formless *brahman*; I extinguish all creatures, I am the striving of all the world (34)..."

The passage does not end here, but we have enough upon which to comment as well as to prove that the development parallels that of the Bhagavad-gītā. The question of priority is settled by the traditional priority of Mārkaṇḍeya alone with the fuller development and intricate construction of the Gītā, which must be the later document. The obvious parallels may be drawn by anyone.

4. The first point to note is that the god is new at the time of writing. He is known to Mārkaṇḍeya alone, having apparently never been heard of before. As we shall see later, "seeing" the god is a form of acknowledgment. Identification with Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Indra and others as in stanzas 5,6 above indicate that the others are the older, or at least the better-known gods, and this is supported by the negative evidence of all our documents, none of which know of a god Nārāyaṇa in, say, the vedic age. However, the claims in stanzas 6-8 above might not be so purely formal as they seem, for we have the Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa exhorted by Prajāpati (xii. 3.4) to offer sacrifice, and actually associated in explicit terms with

the gruesome and soon outmoded but undoubtedly important human sacrifice, Pūruṣamedha, in Śat. Brāh. xiii. 6. The separation between *nara*=*puruṣa* and Nārāyaṇa the god had not yet taken place; so the exalted position of the *puruṣa* in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, (following RV. x. 90—ascribed to the ṛṣi Nārāyaṇa) though apparently a sectarian addition, may be a manifestation of the Nārāyaṇīya tradition in its older form. Certainly the Puruṣasūkta hymn\* RV. x. 90 is one of the sources we are seeking. The approach would be quite natural for any Brāhmaṇa sect that desired to adopt some new worship, or to make it popular. While the infant flood-god may logically claim to have been incarnated in a Boar form (11 above, but *varāha* can also mean bull, ram, or crocodile; the last would be better), the claim contradicts 26–28 in that he is not then born in human form in some good family. Stanza 13 is a good Brāhmanical modification of a famous *ṛk* from the vedic *puruṣasūkta* hymn. RV. x. 90.12, while 15, 16, 21–25 are obvious Brāhmanic adaptations of the social philosophy inherited from Buddhism, hence close to the Gītā. One might say that both the diversity and unity of the Hinduism we know originate here; in any case the beauty of the scheme is evident, for all difficult ritual or observances are replaced by one supreme virtue, faith in the all-pervading god. Flexibility in practice, rigidity in theory, contempt for mere logical self-consistency, which characterize the religion, are clearly displayed in their full vigour.

\* For purposes of comparison, a rather free translation of RV. x. 90 would run as follows :  
 "A thousand heads hath Puruṣa, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet; universally encompassing earth, he fills the ten-digit space (1). This Puruṣa is all that hath been and all that is to be; the Lord Ana (*īśāna*) of immortality which waxes greater still by food (2). All this is his greatness, yet far greater than this is Puruṣa. All creatures are one quarter of him, three quarters immortal life in heaven (3). With three quarters Puruṣa ascended, one quarter of him again was here. Thence he extended to every side over what eats and what eats not (4). From him Virāj was born; again Puruṣa from Virāj (was born). As soon as he was born he spread out, then (created) earth, thus (all creation) (5). When gods prepared the sacrifice with Puruṣa as their offering, its unction was spring, the holy gift was autumn; summer was the wood (6). They anointed as victim on the sacrificial grass Puruṣa the first-born. With him (as sacrificial beast), the deities and all Sādhyas and Ṛṣis sacrificed (7). From that great all-consuming sacrifice the dripping fat was collected. He formed the creatures of the wind, and forest, and of the village (8). From that all-consuming sacrifice Ṛk and Sāma hymns were born. From it were incantations produced, the Yajus also was born of it (9). From it were horses born, and such like as have two rows of teeth; from it were generated kine, from it the goats and sheep were born (10). When they apportioned Puruṣa, how many (portions) did they prepare? What did they call his mouth, his arms? What do they call his thighs and feet? (11). The Brāhmaṇas was his mouth, of his (two) arms was the Rājanya made; his thighs (became) the Vaiśya, and from his feet the Sūdra was born (12). The moon was gendered from his mind, from his eye the sun had birth; Indra and Agni from his mouth were born, and Vāyu from his breath (13). From his navel came the middle region, the sky was fashioned from his head, earth from his feet, and from his ear the directions. Thus they formed the worlds (14). Seven encircling-rods had he, thrice seven layers of fuel were prepared, when the gods offering sacrifice bound as their victim Puruṣa (15). Gods, sacrificing, sacrificed the victim. These were the earliest holy ordinances. The mighty one attained the height of heaven, there where the Sādhyas, gods of old, are dwelling." A variant is found in AV. xix. 6.



Stanza 14 of the quotation shows that the vedas are not eternal, being subject to decline and resurgence. This does not seem to be stated merely for the sake of conformity with the rest of the passage, but actually shows some acquaintance with historical development, leading us to suspect pre-Aryan tradition. Even previously, in Mbh. 3. 138. 10, Bharadvāja says to his dead son; *brāhmaṇānāṃ kilārthāya nanu tvam tāptavāms tapaḥ | dvijānām anadhītā vai vedāḥ sampratibhānto iti ||*. That is, the vedas are something sought out by the Brahmins, not their original possession and study. In Mbh. 3.148.10 ff. Hanuman narrates the *yuga* scheme to Bhīma, leading up to *tāmasaṃ yugam āsādyā kṛṣṇo bhavati keśavaḥ |* (3.148.17), which is really the point of the four colours adopted by the god in the four ages, as in sloka 31 above. Mārkaṇḍeya proceeds to tell the Pāṇḍavas in Mbh. 3.187.52 that their companion Kṛṣṇa is actually the god: *sa eṣa kṛṣṇo vārṣṇeya purāṇapuruṣo vibhuḥ |*. Only after that do the Pāṇḍavas recognize and salute the divinity of their companion and friend\*. How old the documentation might be we cannot say; the reference in Mbh. 3.189.14 where Mārkaṇḍeya says that all this has been said earlier by him in the the Vāyu is more or less verified by the extant form of that purāṇa. Sukthankar's critical notes to the Āraṇyaka-parvan give further inter-relationships with the purāṇas for that parvan.

It still remains to point out that the theory as a whole does not hold water at all if all the *avatāras* (not mentioned in their totality in the passage translated) are taken together. There is no mention of *avatāras* in other colours than black, and indeed none would be necessary in the other ages, for morality had not then gone down to its lowest level. The dark *avatāra* Kṛṣṇa is clearly meant to be explained by this, but even he has no proper function. The *Kali* age, strictly speaking, begins with the coronation of Parikṣit after the great war ended, which means after Kṛṣṇa's function, if any, had ended too. The entire *avatāra* comes before the *kali* age, so that the resultant change is from good to evil; neither Mārkaṇḍeya's nor Hanuman's explanation can be true. There is no general oppression of the type mentioned in the famous stanza *yadā yadā ca dharmasya*, 26 in the translated passage and found also in the Bhagavad-gītā (4.7). Only later do we find a rather lame explanation that Kṛṣṇa was born to wreak destruction upon the kṣatriyas by causing dissensions among them, for they had become too powerful and insolent; apart from the implication that Brāhmaṇas were hostile to the warrior caste, this seems rather a poor aim achieved by dubious means, since a previous incarnation Paraśurāma had destroyed all the kṣatriyas twenty one times! In point of fact, Paraśurāma is not yet an *avatāra* in these books of the Mbh., merely a hero of the Brahmins, and in particular of the Bhārgavas. The first five *avatāras* can hardly be regarded as "born in a good family". In other words, the Nārāyaṇīya passage is oriented completely towards the explanation of Kṛṣṇa alone, casually mentioning the Boar as a previous incarnation,

\* Draupadi's celebrated prayer to Kṛṣṇa when Duḥśāsana strips off her garments is merely a later insertion, after the critical 2,61,40, in the Sabhāparvan. The critical text just reports the miracle of duplication of the heroine's clothes, without any intervention by Kṛṣṇa, which proves a later Vaiṣṇava redaction of the epic.

though claiming in powerful tones identity with a universal principle. As *yuga-pravartaka* however, the great avatāra is a total failure, for he makes the wrong sort of an epoch, changing from better to worse.

The periodic recurrence of a flood followed by a new form of life may seem familiar and natural to anyone brought up in a land where the worst of successively more distressing seasons ends in a virtual flood with the onset of the monsoon. Still, this is the only monsoon country where the flood (and therefore creation-) myth seems periodic, which leads one to believe that several originally distinct flood-legends must have been combined. The great figure of Prajāpati which is so prominent throughout the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa creates the terrestrial world out of the shell of the universal egg, (but in Śat. Brāh. xi. 1-6, by words, after himself issuing from the flood-borne egg) through a curious intermediary; "The juice which flowed from (the shell of the egg squeezed by Prajāpati) became a tortoise. This whole earth dissolved itself all over the water: all this universe appeared as one form only: namely water" (Śat. Brāh. vi. 1.1.12). When we see that the tortoise in vii. 5.1.1-2 is an integral part of the fire-altar, this simple tale seems to be the origin of the Tortoise incarnation, which would thus really be a flood-avatāra. We read in the Śat. Brāh. xiv. 1.2.11. for indeed only so large was this earth in the beginning, of the size of a span. A boar named Emūṣa raised her up, and he was her lord Prajāpati". The infant flood-god Nārāyaṇa proclaimed himself Kāśyapa Prajāpati in Mbh. 3.187.6 above, and Kāśyapa has also the meaning of a tortoise. Therefore Emūṣa could also be a *prajāpati*, the creator for those clans who regarded themselves as descended from the boar, while the tortoise group would prefer *kāśyapa*. The flood not being mentioned in the Emūṣa passage of the Śat. Brāh. seems proof of a different tradition later combined with the flood and the second creation. In any case the those flood *avatāras* can only be regarded as originally having been forms of Prajāpati, not Nārāyaṇa. Specifically, the Adiparvan version of the ocean-churning story gives special prominence to Nārāyaṇa, but the Tortoise is there not an *avatāra* of any deity, being merely the great tortoise-king (Mbh. 1.16.10). The Mohinī form assumed by Nārāyaṇa to cheat the Asuras out of their share of nectar has no place in the official list; only the Boar appears again as the god incarnate (Mbh. 1.19.11). On the other hand, Garuḍa, who must have had a cult powerful enough to justify the space allotted in the Adiparvan to tales of his prowess, never rises to the status of an incarnation, being made the *vāhana* of the god, which does not quite fit the story of the same god sleeping on the flood or upon the cobra who floats on the waters.

The Jain and Buddhist traditions have no flood and no avatāras. However, the perfections (*pāramitās*) practised by the Buddha in previous births and illustrated by the huge collection of Jātakas, the six great former Buddhas (*Mahāpadānasutta*)—the last three being Brahmins—and such accretions show a certain influence of Brahminism; to a lesser extent, but more naturally, the inflated list of Jain Tīrthamkaras shows the same effect. An exception to my statement is to be seen in the *Brahmajālasutta* (Dīgha-nikāya 1), where we do have a flood, but the "creation"

that follows it is fictitious, being imagined by a Brahmā who is merely the first of a series of a fallen gods. Seeing that the *sutta* is later than the *Sāmaññaphala* that follows, we have here just an acknowledgment and twisting of an extraneous legend for Buddhist purposes. In general, the wheel of time turns to bring on a period of decline, and further to one of resurgence. With the Buddhists *Aggaññasutta* and *Cakkavatti-sihanādasutta*, Dīgha-Nikāya 27 and 26) the decline and resurgence are accelerated by evil and good *karma* on the part of the human beings that inhabit the earth. It cannot be denied that both these religions are Indian, and that their myths are not in any way more open to the suspicion of foreign influence than the Brahmin stories. In conformity with this, we get another totally different account of the *kali* age and its end, by Mārkaṇḍeya himself, in Mbh. 3.188.89 to 3.189.2. This is set in the future, there is no intervening flood nor universal destruction, the evil phenomena that were against the course of nature pass merely with the passage of time: *kālāntare*. But there does appear a Brahmin avenger Kalki-Viṣṇuśāś just after the *kali* age, too late this time as Kṛṣṇa was too early, who slaughters the heathen (in later accounts Jains and Buddhists) to make the world safe for Brahminism. His birth is proper: *saṃbhūtaḥ Sambhalagrāme brāhmaṇāvāsathē śubhe*, but it is again notable that the Mārkaṇḍeya narrative does not dare call him an *avatāra*. The Kalki episode has all the earmarks of a historical event disguised as a prophecy. We do know of a *kṛta* or Kalki era which coincides approximately with the Vikrama era; there is very good reason to believe in the occurrence of several local conflicts against invaders, from what remains to us of his. torical records, including such stories as that of the Jain ācārya Kālaka. If the event had not been local, it would have been better recorded; but it was important enough to give some group of Brahmins cause for gratitude, sufficient to preserve and exalt the name of the hero. I have already pointed out that the evils of the *kali* age as described by Mārkaṇḍeya in Mbh. 3.186 and again in 3.188 have as a source the similar passage in the Harivaṃśa, or some other narrative from which all three are derived. Direct comparison proves that the Harivaṃśa record in this case is older, and nearer to history; the mention of Puśyamitra under the title of *senānī* as one who would perform the horse-sacrifice in the *kali* age\* (Hv. 3.2.40) definitely puts Kalki at a later period, and the estimate of the first century before the Christian era is not therefore unreasonable. The Kalki (= Anu-Bhāgavata 3.8.1 ff) purāṇa shows this hero promoted to a full incarnation, first fighting and then allied with a Sāta-vahana (= Saptivāhana named Śasidhvaja), which is a later account but added support for our date. That Kalki still remains a future messianic avenger is due to his comparative obscurity; originally it was necessary to put the whole account as a

\* In the Kimjvaḍekar edition (Bombay), not critical of course, the reference reads: *audbhijjo bhavitā kaścit senānī kāsyaṇḍo dvijah aśvamedhe kaliyuge punaḥ pratyāharisyati* (Hv. 3.2.40), and seeing that the prophecy has been adopted in other details by Mbh. 3.186,188 mostly from Hv. 3.3 and 3.4, there is good reason to take Kalki as later than Puśyamitra. Patañjali on Pāṇ. 3.1.26, *Puśyamitro yajate*; 3.2.123 *iha Puśyamitraṃ yajayāma iti*, supports the identification, when we recall that *senānī* is a Śuṅga title.



prophecy in order to keep the main narrative at the time of the great war, while adding to the authority of the Mahābhārata by inclusion of an episode well-known to the diaskeuasts. Closer identification of Kalki would lead to information about the time of the redaction and perhaps the place; the fact of a Brāhmanical renaissance is clear.

5. The Child floating on the waters does not identify himself with the vedic "child of the waters" Apām Napāt, equated in RV. ii. 35 to the fire, which comes from the lightning born in the water clouds. The Dwarf incarnation can, even originally, be ascribed to Viṣṇu. Śat. Brāh. i. 2.5.1-7 shows that Mbh. 3.187.33 above is related to the Brd. ii. 64 (part of the introduction), where Viṣṇu is called the three-strider meant in *tredhā nidadhe padaṃ* of RV. i. 22.17, words ascribed to Medhātithi (cf. also Śat. Brāh. v.4.2.6, vi. 6.4.1, vi. 7.2.10, i.1.2.13, iii.6.3.3). Still, there is no early mention of Nārāyaṇa while *kṛṣṇa* is a vedic adjective for the dark enemies of the Aryans. Viṣṇu in Brd. v. 48 is the twelfth Āditya, (a list expanded from the 8 of RV. x. 72, Brd. vii. 114) and an associate of Indra in the killing of Vṛtra (RV. viii. 100). The four *yuga*-names occur in Ait. Brāh. vii. 15, but Keith differs emphatically from Sāyaṇa in maintaining that they are here names of the four throws of dice. His argument has little value, for the whole section is a later addition. Ait. Brāh. vii. 18 says that the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabarās, Pulindas and Mūtibas descend from those fifty sons of Viśvāmitra who had been cursed. The list has much in common with that in Mbh. 3.186.30 (kings of the *kali* age!), which again shows that we are dealing with late sources, coming down to the Christian era in history. Therefore, the fact that the Ait. Brāh. starts by putting Viṣṇu first (cf. also Śat. Brāh. xiv. 1.1.5 ff.) and Agni last among the gods merely goes to prove a later redaction. As for the two Rāmas, RV. x. 94.14 seems to refer to an *asura* king Rāma; RV. x. 110 is ascribed by the Anukramaṇi to Paraśurāma (or his father) and shows nothing either of the *avatāra* nor of the supposed kṣatriya-killer. Rāma Aupatasvini is a sage in Śat. Brāh. iv. 6.1.7, and Rāma Vaiyāghrapadya in the Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāh. Rāma Dāśarathi must have been some eastern hero. The name itself is old in times of the Buddha, as for example Uddaka Rāmaputta.

Some roots of the Man-Lion incarnation of Viṣṇu and the Hiranya-Kaśipu episode clearly go back to a legend of Indra. Namuci receives a similar promise of inviolability, but is afterwards killed by Indra with foam as a weapon (Śat. Brāh. xii. 7.3.1-3, RV. viii. 14.13). In some versions of the Narasiṃha story, Hiranya-Kaśipu is not killed but converted. To restore the original form of such a tale would necessitate a simultaneous critical and comparative edition of all the purāṇas. The whole Southern Recension of the Mbh. has a significant addition about the Dwarf incarnation, to the Sabhāparvan (Crit. Ed. App. I, no. 21, inserted after 2.35.29); there, Namuci is pushed down into the nether world, like Bali, along with Śambara and Prahṛāda—both enemies of Indra and killed by that god in older legend.

That the god in Mbh. 3.187.10 himself becomes the cobra Śeṣa to support the earth is again an earlier step in the synthesis which later converts him into the god

who sleeps upon the cobra that floats on the waters. Both serve to absorb the presumably aboriginal element of cobra-worship. A similar general trend is to be observed in the detailed iconography of our gods, with the *praharāṇa*, *vāhana*, and companionship of each deity, which serve to assimilate as well as subordinate minor cults. We know that composite deities like Hari-Hara, and perhaps Gaṇeśa may serve the same purpose, but whether the three-headed Tvāṣṭra and the four-headed Brahmā\* carry the procedure far back into pre-Aryan times cannot be said without further evidence. The cobra might be related to the vedic *ahi budhnya*.

The main principle of *bhakti* needs only a suitable vehicle, which is made more attractive by aggrandizement, and in any case raised by intense devotion to an exalted position. Therefore, grouping deities around a central figure may be the first step towards their final identification. Brd. i.122 has already begun to use ambiguous language in such grouping when it says "Indrāśrayas tu" of Parjanya, Rudra, Vāyu, Bṛhaspati, Varuṇa, Ka, Mṛtyu, and many others, among them Apām Napāt. The god who is above everything, who can do anything without affecting his own sanctity is originally Indra. His position arose from the peculiar historical development of Aryan conquest and Brahmanical assimilation, for a destructive chieftain had to be worshipped as a god by those priests whose very civilization he had destroyed. This may be the origin of Nārāyaṇa's impressive characteristic: he who destroys as well as creates. The Puruṣa of RV. x. 90 is not a destroyer.

6. The āraṇyaka-parvan passage quoted earlier begins: *Kāmaṃ devāpi māṃ vipra na vijānanti tattvataḥ*; this is surely the main theme of the Bhagavad-gītā, the true realization of the supreme deity in essence. But we have precisely the same attitude in the earliest Upaniṣads, known to be among the source of the Gītā, where the aim originally seems to have been the realization of *brahmā* and *Brahman*. In one notable case, however, this has shifted to Indra and the similarity to the principle of the Gītā is so remarkable that even the great Śaṅkara saw fit to explain this passage in the Brahmasūtra commentary. In the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, Indra says to Prātardana Daivodāsi: *māṃ evavijānīhy etad evāhaṃ manuṣyāya hitatamaṃ manye | yaṃ māṃ vijānīyāt | trīṣṛṣāṇaṃ tvāṣṭram ahaṃ aruṇmukhān ya'īn sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prāyacchaṃ bahvīḥ sandhā atikramya divi prahlādīyān atṛṇān ahaṃ antarikṣe paulomān prthivyāṃ kālakhāṇjān | tasya me tatṛa na loma ca mā mīyate | sa yo māṃ vijānīyān nāsyā kena ca karmaṇā loko mīyate | na mātṛvadhena na pitṛvadhena na steyena na bhrūṇahatyayā nāsyā mukhān nīlān na vellti. ||* The passage sublimates to a divine plane the actual position of the ruling kṣatriya and his enemies, Brahmins or otherwise.

\* In my opinion, the bearded tricephalous old man of the famous Mohenjo-Daro seal, seated in a characteristic yogi pose, and surrounded by animals is actually four-headed, the fourth being turned away from the observer. If so, this must be Brahmā, depicted as Paśupati or Prajāpati, depending on whether we take the animals as mere beasts, or totems; probably the latter.

The theme *yan māṃ vijānīyāt* is unmistakably that carried over into later times, along with the explicit statement (which has necessarily to be modified): that the god-knower, like the god, suffers from no sort of sin that he might commit. It is most interesting to trace back this particular passage through the ancient source material that we still possess. The Ait. Brāh. vii. 27 says, through the mouth of Rāma Mārgaveya "...the gods excluded Indra (saying) 'He hath misused Viśvarūpa, son of Tvaṣṭr, he hath laid low Vṛtra, he hath given the Yatis to the hyēnas, he hath killed the Arurmaghas, he hath contended with Bṛhaspati', then Indra was deprived of the Soma drinking...". The list has added the killing of Vṛtra, and says that Indra was punished, which contradicts the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad, while the Kauṣ, Brāhmaṇa itself which so often follows the Ait. Brāh. closely is silent as to the entire performance. Now the position of Vṛtra is that of a demon of darkness in the vedas, but already in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa he is also the originator of the first three vedas, or at least the possessor of formulæ of all three kinds (Śat. Brāh. v. 5.5.1-5). The Tait. Samh. ii. 1, and ii. 4 (like Śat. Brāh. v. 5.5.2,7) show Viṣṇu associated with Indra in the killing of Vṛtra, still an evil demon. In Mbh. 5.10, we have the two gods killing the demon by means of the *vajra*, covered by foam into which Viṣṇu had entered, obviously a throwback to the Namuci story. To follow the legend down a bit, we may note that in the Vulgate (no critical text being as yet available) Śānti-parvan of the Mbh. (12.279-282) Vṛtra appears as a very noble king, taught by no less than Uśanas, and still magnificent in defeat. Uśanas is a Bhārgava, a *vibhūti* of Kṛṣṇa in the Gītā, which shows why the killing of Vṛtra rankled, at least in the minds of one important group of Brāhmaṇa clans. There is no point in attempting here to trace the historical meaning of the event. I wish to prove only that the whole nexus is Brāhmaṇical, showing anti-Brahmin action on the part of Indra; of course, it is clear that the god who befriended Prahrāda or the one whose *vibhūti* Prahrāda happens to be is not a natural friend of Indra. The insertion of Viṣṇu, even though we distinguish the god from Nārāyaṇa, points merely to an early Brāhmaṇical revision of Aryan mythology, but in rather a hesitant manner, still admitting the hegemony of Indra.

The Bṛhaddevatā vii.53 leads us to the ultimate source. "On earth he exterminated both the Kālakeyas and the race of Pulomā, the archers, and in heaven the notorious (*tān*) offspring of Prahlāda". This follows the usual exploits of Indra shattering the nine nineties of the Dānavas and looting their treasures. But specifically, we are told that this is Indra Vaikuṇṭha, and the name itself guarantees not only an element of historicity but makes it plausible that Indra was the title of a succession of human chiefs. Vaikuṇṭha later becomes a title of Viṣṇu, just as Narottama and Puruṣottama are transferred to the same god from Buddha, and Puraṇḍara from Indra to Śiva. The Bṛhaddevatā does us further service in referring the passage to Rgveda x. 48-9. Indra Vaikuṇṭha, being puffed up with his own power, began to harass the gods, and was placated by the seer Saptagu, who praised him. Then Indra coming to his senses (*sa buddhvā cātmanam*) speaks the two hymns to his own prowess. This is the first traceable source of the god proclaiming his own might, and "knowing



himself", hence of the principle *yan mām vijānīyāt*. But it is remarkable that absolutely nothing is said in the two ṛgvedic hymns of the Prahlādas, the other two tribes, or any consciousness of sin. "For me hath Tvaṣṭr forged the iron thunderbolt... Against the Guṅṣu I made Atithigva strong...With deadly blows I smote Atka for Kavi's sake...As Śuṣṇa's slayer I brandished the dart of death...Smadibha, Tugra, and the Vetasus I gave as pray to Kutsa. I was a worthy King...I crushed Navavāstva of the lofty car...". There is killing in plenty, but of quite other people. The identification with a universal god has not yet begun, though there are elements which can be so taken later on: *ahaṃ saptaḥā Nahuṣo Nahuṣtarah* shows, with the legend that Nahuṣa was for a time occupant of Indra's throne, that Indra might claim to be the very substance of Nahuṣa in "out-Nahuṣing" Nahuṣa. Finally "I, gifted with great wisdom, spread the floods abroad;...I set within these cows the white milk which no god, not even Tvaṣṭr's self had there deposited..." seems to show that some of the divine attributes which could later be developed to mean the essence of all, as in the Nārāyaṇīya passage and the Gītā, also start with Indra and not only from the Puruṣasūkta hymn. The discrepancy between the veda and the Brd. comment therefore becomes puzzling.

7. The Brhaddevatā vi.150-1 reports the killing of Trisīras Tvāṣṭra, and RV. x.8.9 supports this by *trīṇi śirṣā parā varh*. But Brd. vi.152 follows this up at once by saying that Indra was denounced for the sin "*taṃ vāg abhyavadad brāhmī brahmahāsi śatakrato*". This is not to be translated, in my opinion, as usual by rendering *brāhmī vāc* as divine speech, but far more emphatically the voice of the followers of Brahmā. That is, the whole episode of Indra's killing is doubtless traditional (Śat. Brāh. i.6.3.2; but the embarrassing sin is shifted in i.2.3.2) and as reliable as anything in the Rgveda itself, but regarded as a sin, hence unquestionably an extra-vedic tradition of the Brahmins. This can be accounted for only by the hypothesis set out earlier, of Brahmin servitude to Aryan conquerors. In fact we can find plenty of explicit support for this.

The Brd. itself gives us such support in v.156-159; "...For he (Vasiṣṭha) once upon a time, by means of austerity saw Indra who was invisible to (other) seers. The Lord of Bay Steeds (Indra) then proclaimed to him shares in Soma. For this appears from the Brāhmaṇa *ṛṣayo va indram*. Vasiṣṭha and the Vasiṣṭhas thus (became) Brahmins in the office of Brahmin priests, most worthy of fees in all rites at sacrifices. Therefore, one should honour with fees all such descendants of Vasiṣṭha who may at any time even to-day be present at a sacrificial assembly, so says a sacred text of the Bhāllavins". It is easily proved that we have a historical fact in the asserted priority of the Vasiṣṭhas, which is not only current in general tradition (Śat. Brāh. xii. 6.1.41) but also shown by the story that Jamadagni later disputed their monopoly. Śaunaka, reputed author of the Brhaddevata, is supposedly a Bhārgava, and would not have reported such a story unless it were generally accepted. That the Bhārgavas did not acknowledge Indra at first is also quite clear from the same work Brd. vi.117-9 "...With the triplet *ayam* (RV. viii. 100.1-3) Nema son of

Bhṛgu praised Indra without seeing him. And Indra then with a couplet (RV. viii. 100.4,5) 'Here I am, behold me, seer.' For Nema, being alone (*eka*) while praising (Indra) had also said 'There is no Indra'. Nothing could be more explicit. The Bhārgavas refused to acknowledge Indra till after the Vasiṣṭhas had gone over to that cult. We know that a vast amount of the later tradition is written up by Bhārgava redactors, and this accounts for their possession of hostile myths, actually faded history, which they wrote into the Aryan sacred documents, reconciling bitter fact with ancient pretensions. It is for this reason that Indra, with his clearly defined vedic cult, his subordinations to Agni, and known harshness to Brahmins was not suitable as the object of faith. We can understand Mbh. 3.148.17, where Hanuman says of the *kṛta* age : *na sāmā-yaju-rgvarṇāḥ kriyā nāsic ca mānavī abhidhyāya phalaṃ tatra dharmāḥ samnyāsa eva ca* ". Such a statement in a Brāhmanical work must be taken seriously to indicate at least a traditional pre-vedic golden age. For the renaissance of an old sectarian cult, such as that of Nārāyaṇa must have been before the Mārkaṇḍeya-samāsyā was composed, a method of universalization was necessary which would permit identification with any really popular cult-object. This aim having been realized by means of the incarnation theory, it follows that the particular incarnation striven for, here Kṛṣṇa, must have had a large popular following.

Merely pointing out the oldest sources would have led us, besides the Puruṣasūkta, to the proclamation of Vāgāmbhṛṇī in RV. x. 125. She declares herself the bearer of all the chief gods, the mover of all, filling earth and sky. Similarly, Vāmadeva, perhaps speaking as Indra, in RV. iv. 26 starts off by identifying himself with Manu, Sūrya, Kavi Uśanas, Kākṣivān, Kutsa Arjuneya. The tone of the first sūkta is familiar to readers of the Gītā, while the first three of Vāmadeva's identifications occur in the tenth adhyāya of the same work. Thus the procedure goes back to the oldest Brahmanical tradition. However, the intermediate steps are of far greater interest than the sources, for they show what was necessary before such universalization could effectively be accepted. As for the Brahmins themselves, their ambiguous role is shown by a glance at the position of Kavi Uśanas, whether the name represents just one or several different persons, and whether or not there is any basis for the comparison with Kai Kāōs of Iranian legend. He is the Bhārgava author of RV. ix. 47-49 and ix. 75-79, patronized by Indra in RV. x. 49; but also an unsuccessful herald of the Asuras against Agni for the gods, in Tait. Sam. ii. 5.8; and the preceptor of the Dānavas by reason of his magic power of reviving the dead, according to the famous Kaca-Devayāni story (Mbh. 1.171.6). This means that opportunism is also an old Brahmin tradition. That the clan-groups disagreed among themselves would seem clear from Brd. iv. 117, which reports that RV. iii. 53.21-24 are specifically curses against the Vasiṣṭhas. The hymn itself could be chanted by Viśvāmitra only because of speech (*vāk sasarpārī*), supplied to the fainting sage by the Jamadagni Bhṛguids. At the beginning, we find two theories of precarious welfare after death: performance of ritual and the cult of the dead by faithful descendants, and a store of personal merit. But this remarkable priesthood maintains and improves its

position while propagating a much easier method of permanent salvation, faith in a personal god.

To recapitulate : the gradual raise to pre-eminence of a substratum in the tradition which is hostile to the general tone of vedic legend plays a leading part in the syncretism. For the vedas there are no *avatāras* ; Rāma, son of Jamadagni is merely a harmless sage, the traditional author of an innocuous hymn, RV. x. 110 ; Nārāyaṇa is a human author of RV. x. 90, in which however a rudimentary form of many claims made later by the god Nārāyaṇa can be seen, and it would be surprising if this were a mere coincidence—if Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa, the god Nārāyaṇa and the Puruṣasūkta hymn had only fortuitous connections. On the other hand, Indra's most difficult achievements appear later as transgressions against Brahmins. This submerged portion of the tradition must have had some historical foundation, and therefore been retained, painful and humiliating though it was, in Brāhmaṇical memory throughout the early period of kṣatriya dominance.



## REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

**Mīmāṃsādarśanam or Jaiminimīmāṃsāsūtrapāṭhaḥ.** Edited by Svāmi Kevalānandasarasvatī. Prājñapāṭhasālāmaṇḍala, Wai, Dist. Satara. Pp. 30+281+26+227. Price Rs. 30.

This is the first of a series of volumes proposed to be published by the Prājñapāṭhasālāmaṇḍala at Wai under the editorship of the very erudite Svāmi Kevalānandasarasvatī of Wai. When completed, the series will make a unique contribution to the scholarly study of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā system. The present volume consists of four parts: (1) An introduction describing the several editions and MSS. of the Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra together with the bhāṣya of Śabara and the commentaries on the sūtra and bhāṣya by Kumārila and other eminent writers; (2) The Sūtrapāṭha of Jaimini's work in twelve chapters (and 60 pādas) together with instructive notes culled from several works about the various readings in the sūtras and the different arrangements of the sūtras into adhikaraṇas (topics for discussion); (3) an alphabetical Index of all the sūtras of Jaimini with references to the chapters and adhikaraṇas in which they occur; (4) an alphabetical Index of the individual words occurring in the sūtras of Jaimini. The present volume bears evidence on every page to the patient industry and learning of the Svāmiji who edits this volume. He has also prepared a very large and exhaustive Mīmāṃsākośa which will be published in about four volumes more hereafter. Both Indian and Western scholars have not in modern times made as deep a study of the mīmāṃsā as of the other *darśanas*. The mīmāṃsā is a very difficult Śāstra and Śrauta sacrifices being now very rare not many are familiar with the topics dealt with in the work of Jaimini. The Mīmāṃsā evolved its own principles of the interpretation of Vedic passages and has a logic of its own. Writers on Dharmaśāstra employ the conclusions of the Mīmāṃsā for the elucidation and interpretation of Smṛtis. For a thorough understanding of Dharmaśāstra works a deep study of the Mīmāṃsā is quite essential and indispensable. The Svāmiji has spent an enormous amount of labour and erudition in preparing the present volume and the other volumes yet to be printed and published. All Sanskrit scholars interested in the study of Mīmāṃsā and Dharmaśāstra owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Svāmiji. It is to be hoped that this great undertaking will be published as quickly as possible and will receive substantial monetary assistance from Government, patrons of learning and all scholars interested in a systematic and profound study of the ancient system of Jaimini.

P. V. K.

**Drama in Sanskrit Literature.** By R. V. JAGIRDAR. Popular Book Depot, Bombay 7. 1947. Pp. viii+168. Rs. 8-4.

The book is an ambitious attempt to trace the origin and development of Sanskrit dramatic theory and practice in pre-classical and classical periods. The

author's thesis is that Sanskrit drama has a non-religious popular origin and that it developed from the recitation of epic songs by the *Sūta*, through dance and music to representation on the stage. The thesis fails to convince; nay, it leaves an impression on the mind of a hypothesis already formed being worked out and supported by convenient arguments. The theory of transition from mere epic recitation to representation suffers from the vital flaw that the epic stories are never known to have been staged by the *Sūta* nor the speeches in the epics to have been distributed among different reciters in practice. The evolution of the *Sūta* into the *Sūtradhāra* has to contend with the fact that the *Sūtradhāra* has always been a Brahmin which the *Sūta* never was. The *Sūtradhāra-Sthāpaka* identification, for which *Bhāratanaṭya-śāstra* 5.164 is wrongly adduced as evidence (despite the definite evidence to the contrary of the stanza that immediately precedes and the one that immediately follows it), is treated without proper historical perspective. The evolution of the four *Vṛttis* as successive stages in the development of Sanskrit drama and the assignment of the different dramatic forms to the different *Vṛttis* are too schematic to be probable. The author explains *Sthāpanā* in one way at p. 39 and in another at p. 47. On the whole, the first half of the book dealing with the development of dramatic theory is on disappointing. The latter half dealing with dramatic works and their appreciation is surer ground, though here, too, every one will not agree with the author that *Vikramorvaśīya* preceded *Mālavikāgnimitra* or that the long description of the rainy season or that of the residence of Vasantasenā's mother is essential or artistic. The author gives a good analysis of the first Act of *Uttararāmacarita* and shows Bhavabhūti's greatness as a dramatist. In this connection, one wonders why the author has left out *Veṇīsamhāra* from detailed analytical treatment and criticism or altogether ignored the trends represented by Mahendravikramavarman's *Mattavilāsa* or the *Caturbhāṇi*.

G. C. J.

**Haricarita by Parameśvara Bhaṭṭa.** Edited with a Sanskrit commentary by Pandit V. KRISHNAMACHARYA, and an Introduction by C. KUNHAN RAJA. Adyar Library Series, No. 63, Adyar, Madras. 1948. Pp. i + liv + 86.

The *Haricarita*, a hitherto unpublished poem on the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, is now published in the Adyar Library Series. The single Ms. from which the text has been edited, makes no mention of the author anywhere; but the reasons advanced by Dr. Kunhan Raja for attributing the poem to Parameśvara of the Bhaṭṭa family of Payyūr in Malabar seem conclusive on the point. Dr. Raja tentatively assigns this Parameśvara to the latter part of the thirteenth century. This author has also written a commentary on the Meghadūta called Sumanoramanī, which is published in the Journal of the Trivandrum Oriental Manuscripts Library, Vol. II, part 3.

The poem, which contains 253 stanzas in various metres, gives in brief an account of the life of Kṛṣṇa as derived from Bhāgavata Purāṇa and other similar sources. There is little original about the theme or its treatment, unless it be the author's fondness for inserting devotional praise of Kṛṣṇa—and in one place, of all the

ten incarnations—at every opportunity. The most striking feature of the poem, however, is the use, in the opening words of the stanzas, of the astronomical *vākyas*, devised by the Malabar astronomers, by assigning a numerical value to consonants, for ready calculation of the moon's position on any day of the year. For instance, the *vākya*, *Velātaravaḥ* means that the moon is in 35th *li* of the 27th *tithi* of the 5th *rāśi*. The use of these *vākyas* has been, in a sense, an initial handicap, which the author has not often succeeded in overcoming. One stumbles at awkward constructions and uncouth turns of phrase. And though the author shows competence in the handling of metres, it cannot be seriously maintained that he is endowed with high poetic talent.

The editor was naturally handicapped by the fact that there was only a single ms. of the work available. Corrections have been made and emendations substituted in a number of places. As Dr. Raja has pointed out in the Introduction, not all these emendations are necessary. For instance, it appears that the author himself has used the ungrammatical *ahanat*, and the emendation to *avadhāt* does not seem quite called for. The Sanskrit commentary, added by the editor, is very lucid and almost indispensable for understanding many a passage in the poem.

In a learned Introduction, Dr. Raja discusses the question of the authorship of the poem, as well as its date, and explains in detail the nature of the astronomical *vākyas*. He also adds a brief appreciation of the poem, which is typical of an age when the glory of Sanskrit literature was a thing of the past and when enthusiasts trying to imitate the ancient masters had recourse to artificial tricks in order to introduce any novelty in their works.

R. P. K.

**Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prakrits.** By Dr. M. A. MEHENDALE, M.A., PH.D. Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona. 1948 Pp. xxviii + 345, and five maps. Price Rs. 21.

Of late the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute has brought out several important publications, particularly in Linguistics, mostly due to the inspiration and able guidance of Dr. KATRE, the Director. The work under review by Dr. MEHENDALE, which has been awarded the Doctorate degree of the University of Bombay, is the first attempt at studying the Inscriptional Prakrits in their space-time context.

Inscriptional Prakrits have a distinct advantage over Literary Prakrits in that they can be definitely localised in point of place and time, and hence it is easier to scrutinise them in their space-time context. They are, again, the best available representatives of the living forms of speech current in their regions, in contrast to the Literary Prakrits, which cater for the advanced and do not record the language of the people. Inscriptional Prakrits are recorded by the people for the people.

In relation to the Prakrit of the Grammarians the Inscriptional Prakrits occupy an interesting position. Inscribed centuries before the Prakrit Grammar



came into vogue, they reflect the gradual process by which the peculiarities noted by grammarians came into play. Among the groups described in the present work, the Western Inscriptions show the Māhārāṣṭrī of the Grammarians, and the Central and Eastern Inscriptions, respectively the Śūrasenī and Māgadhī. There is no corresponding Prakrit for the Southern Inscriptions in the Grammars.

The book under review is a study of Prakrit Inscriptions in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī from the earliest times to the 4th century A. D. from a comparative standpoint of Historical Linguistics. Hitherto no attempt was made to deal comprehensively with the linguistic material afforded by the inscriptions for the study of MIA languages. From this work we get a clear idea of the movements of linguistic changes. Five maps appended to the book, along with their description in the text, facilitate the understanding of the distribution of the various inscriptions in point of time and place.

The study of phonology and morphology of Aśokan inscriptions with a view to demonstrating regional tendencies forms the first five chapters of the book. Each of the four major regional groups (viz. Western, Southern, Central and Eastern) is arranged chronologically and studied in detail as regards phonology and morphology. The results of this study in Regional Linguistics in its time sequences are represented in Synoptic Tables dealt with in Chs. VI-VII. These Synoptic Tables are chronologically arranged for each region, and give a proper idea of linguistic changes in different regions in successive periods, laying proper emphasis on time-space context. The next chapter gives the conclusions, and the final chapter deals with Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions on identical plan. There is a useful Bibliography at the end.

We may briefly summarise the results of the author's study: (i) Phonology: With the exception of *ṛ* and the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, the Sanskrit vowels are normally preserved in Inscriptional Prakrits. Initial *ṛ* generally becomes *a* in the West and *i* in other regions in the 3rd century B. C. Subsequently, however, it becomes *a* in all regions. In their initial positions, simple consonants, with the exception of sibilants and the semi-vowel *ṛ*, are almost rigorously preserved. The three sibilants invariably change to *s*. Dentals preceded by *ṛ* or *r* are cerebralised in all Aśokan inscriptions (except in the west). The change of *n* to *ṇ* is found only in the 4th cent. A.D. copperplates of Central India. (ii) Morphology: In nouns, dual is entirely lost, and bases ending in consonants are mostly declined as if they were *a* bases. The variety of forms is lost in verbs, the dual disappears, and the middle voice has almost gone.

The valuable introduction brilliantly tells about the scope and method of the work, summary of conclusions, etc. There is also a section dealing with the political history of the period. The whole work is a creditable performance on the part of its young author, and we look forward to many valuable monographs on linguistics and other subjects from his pen.

A. D. P.

**Ṭoḍarānandam. Vol. I.** Edited by Dr. P. L. VAIDYA, M. A., D. Litt. Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. 1948. Pp. xxxi + 415.

After publishing Kāvya works in the beginning, the Ganga Oriental Series has now switched on to serious works, and the *Ṭoḍarānandam*, an encyclopædic work on Dharmasāstra compiled under the patronage of Rājā Ṭoḍar Mal, is a worthy successor of the *Saṅgītarāja* of Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarna. Rājā Ṭoḍar Mal was a brave warrior, an able administrator, astute politician and finance minister, who rose by sheer merit from ordinary clerk to the high position of a trusted friend and minister of the great Akbar. The work under review supplies hitherto unknown particulars about Ṭoḍar Mal.

*Ṭoḍarānanda* appears to have run into 22 or 23 sections, of which the present volume contains only the first two, viz. *Sarga-saukhya* and *Avatāra-saukhya*, dealing respectively with the primary and secondary creation, and the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. The extent of the entire *Ṭoḍarānanda*, according to the Editor, may be about 80,000 ślokaś, and the first volume contains about 5000 of these. The subsequent topics of the work embrace not only all topics of the Dharmasāstra, but cover almost all branches of Hindu learning.

The edition is based on only two MSS so far available, one of which is incomplete. The complete copy of the MS is so close in time to the period of the composition of the work that it appears to be one of the first copies, if not the first copy, of the work. Want of more MSS would have seriously handicapped the editor but for the fact that the work contains several long extracts from the Purāṇas and other well-known works, such as the *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata*, *Matsya*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya*, *Bhagavadgītā*, *Mahābhārata*, etc. The editor has utilised printed editions of these texts and noted the variants.

That the editor could not utilise the *Skanda-purāṇa* as there are several recensions of which the printed text represents but one, there are no critical editions and the text is bulky, brings to the forefront the urgent necessity of having not only the critical editions of the Purāṇas but also a *pratīka* index for individual Purāṇas. The advantage of such indices to scholars cannot be overemphasised.

There being no good edition, the editor could not use the *Nṛsimha-purāṇa* (p. xvii). The reviewer, however, cursorily glanced through the *Narasimha-purāṇa* (Edited by Uddhavācārya Aināpure, 2nd Ed. Bombay, 1911) and the relevant portions in the *Ṭoḍarānanda*, and found that practically the entire *Śrīrāmāvatāraḥ* (*Ṭoḍarānanda*, pp. 140-194) has been incorporated from the *Narasimha-purāṇa* (pp. 141-192). There are, no doubt, several variations. On comparing the *Ṭoḍarānanda* with the *Narasimha-purāṇa* most of the defective readings in the former can be corrected. On p. 161, मार्कण्डेय पुराणे should be changed to मार्कण्डेय उवाच as this sentence itself and the passage that follows are quoted from the *Nṛsimha (Nara)-purāṇa*. A few more corrections may be noted here:

- II. 7. 327: Read लवकुशैनामनभिज्ञां त्वं  
for इत्युक्त्वेनामभिज्ञां (?)
- II. 7. 386: Read एवं हत्वा स सीतां तु जटायुं  
for एवं कृत्वा स सीतां (?) जटायुं
- II. 7. 462: Read कृतघ्नस्य कपे दुष्ट  
for कृतघ्नस्य कयेदुष्ट (?)
- II. 7. 561: Read रावणनीतायाः  
for रावणसीतायाः
- II. 7. 285: Read त्वद्वेषमेव मदेष्टुं त्वद्वर्तं मे महाव्रतम्  
for वदे संसेवनं चेदं (?) तद्व्रतं मे महाव्रतम्
- II. 7. 592: Read स्वप्नःशुभो मया दृष्टः सीतायाश्च पतिप्रदः  
for स्वप्नोऽशुभो मया दृष्टः सीतायाश्च पतिव्रता (?)

"B" MS. of the text states the passage on p. 30 f (which, according to "A" MS, apparently followed by the editor here, comes from the *Vāmana-purāṇa*) as extracted from the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, and actually it is found in the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, 65.16-50 (Ānandāśrama Edition). During my hurried reference, I could not trace the passage in the *Vāmana-purāṇa* (Venkateśvara Edition).

It may be observed that on several pages there are stanzas preceded by अथ सूची or अथ सूचनम्. These have been sometimes traced by the editor to the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, while at most places, their source remains unknown.

The editor, Dr. P. L. VAIDYA, is well known as a critical and conscientious scholar and a careful editor of Sanskrit and Prakrit texts and he has acquitted himself creditably in the present work. Ṭoḍarmal was obviously the patron and not the author of the *Ṭoḍarānanda*, which could not have been the work of single scholar. Dr. VAIDYA has tried to identify some of the authors who were responsible for the compilations of this work. There are three useful appendices, dealing respectively with (A) Life of Ṭoḍarmal from *Aīn-i-Akbarī*, (B) Few stanzas glorifying Ṭoḍarmal, and (C) Information about the sections of the *Ṭoḍarānanda* and its MSS. The editor and the Bikaner State deserve to be congratulated for such an excellent production, which we warmly commend to all Oriental Libraries.

A. D. P.

**A History of Sanskrit Literature (Classical Period).** General Editor: Dr. S. N. DASGUPTA. Vol. I. University of Calcutta, 1947. Pp. cxxix+803. Rs. 25.

The adoption by the University of Calcutta of Dr. Dasgupta's proposal to plan a new work dealing with the subjects that form the content of volume III of Dr. Winternitz's *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur* instead of translating the latter as originally arranged, is responsible for bringing into existence this excellent



*History of Sanskrit Literature* under the General Editorship of Dr. Dasgupta. The present volume, which deals with the History of Kāvya Literature and History of Alamkāra Literature, will be followed by another including Chapters on Technical Sciences, Prakrit Literature, Inscriptions as Literature, etc. The General Editor was indeed fortunate in securing the co-operation, for writing on Kāvya, of the eminent Orientalist Dr. Sushil Kumar De, whose name is a guarantee for soundness, thoroughness, and precision. Dr. Dasgupta has contributed an exhaustive introduction, history of Alamkāra literature, and Editor's Notes.

The introduction purports to give a proper perspective for reviewing the history of Sanskrit literature in its background of racial, social, and historical environment, which would prove of immense help in grasping the significance of Sanskrit literary culture. Dr. De, at the outset, states it is his purpose to lay emphasis upon the literary aspects of the various problems, which have so far not received adequate treatment in the histories of literature. Admitted as an authority on Kāvya in all its branches, Dr. De is a *sahṛdaya* literary critic with wide reading, and he has acquitted himself creditably in his part of the work. He has expressed regrets at his inability to bring the book uptodate, as it took six long years in press, so that Dr. De's references come up to the years 1941 or 1942. Naturally one misses Dr. De's considered and weighty views on topics and works that came up during the last seven years, such as, e. g., the authenticity of *Yajñaphalam* ascribed to Bhāsa, and that of *Kṛṣṇacarita* ascribed to Samudra-gupta. On p. 200, n 1, we read of a stanza in the *Mahābhāṭa* (Bom. Ed.) II. 11.36, which was an interpolation according to Dr. Winternitz. It is interesting to note in this connection, that in the Critical Edition of the *Saṁhāṣarvan* edited by Dr. Edgerton and published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the stanza appears as an interpolation given in the footnotes on p. 58 as interpolated stanza No. 130\*. Some of the chapters in Dr. De's part had already appeared in the journals and were taken as masterly presentations of the topics concerned.

The Editor's Notes seek to supplement Dr. De's work, but the reviewer feels that it would have been far better had Dr. De been given the chance to bring his portion uptodate. Unfortunately lack of coordination is apparent in the Notes. For one thing there are divergent views on the same points; for another, there are unnecessary repetitions (cf. pp. 189, 622; 325, 624; 344, 623; 367, 657; 370, 659; 397, 663; etc.), which do not justify so much space. As instances of divergent views may be stated the dates of Kālidāsa (pp. 125, 735) and Bharata (15,630), authenticity and date of Bhāsa's works (pp. 101-117; 708-727), etc. Dr. De (p. 8) is doubtful whether *Pātālaviṇaya* and *Jāmbavatīviṇaya* are the same or different, whereas Dr. Dasgupta (p. 611) identifies them.

The references in the footnotes in the Alamkāra section show that Dr. Dasgupta, who is internationally known as an authority on Indian Philosophy, has studied this branch also. His treatment, however, reads like a catalogue of authors and works at places. The topic about the authorship of the *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* of

Bhaṭṭanāyaka required a detailed treatment besides a mere reference to the Editor's book in Bengali on the subject. *Āsmakavarṇaśa* and *Rājamitra*, recorded as authors on p. 527, are names of works. On p. 526, last line, read "as Vāmana also did" for "as Bhāmaha also did". Dr. Dasgupta dissents from the usual classification of modern writers on poetics who treat of the different works on the *Alaṅkāraśāstra* under the *rīti* school, *alaṅkāra* school, or *dhvani* school (p. 574 f).

A list of abbreviations was necessary in view of the fact that many abbreviations (some of them quite out of the way) have been used. One may be expected to know the standard abbreviations of Journals, but when titles of books are abbreviated, readers naturally expect an explanation of those abbreviations at least. Dr. De's chapters, however, explain such abbreviations at their first occurrence in the footnotes (cf. pp. 2, 8, 14, 43); but it would have been better to arrange them in alphabetical order and put them at the beginning. It will indeed be very difficult to know what HL (p. 666), BSA (p. 750), ILC (p. 651) stand for.

Another omission is the list of corrections. There is a page of corrections added to the copy of the reprint of Dr. De's portion of the volume, which has been omitted from the volume as a whole. The important corrections in the list are:

|         |           |                                 |
|---------|-----------|---------------------------------|
| P. 218, | n3:       | read Bhānucandra for Bhānudatta |
| P. 225, | L.25:     | „ Sārasvata „ Sāradvata         |
| P. 243, | n3:       | „ Ryder „ Gray                  |
| P. 338, | L.14:     | „ Devanandi „ Devavijayagaṇi    |
| P. 435, | LL, 25-6: | „ Somadeva „ Somaprabha         |
| P. 498, | L. 13:    | „ Viśvabhāṇḍa „ Visvabandhu.    |

On p. 361, l. 10, read "Vīra Kāmpaṇa or Kāmparāya" for "Acyutarāya". The inaccuracies in the *Alaṅkāra* section referred to earlier could better have been incorporated under "Corrigenda".

There is select bibliographical material given in the footnotes, and the literary estimates and discussions of chronology and other topics are judicious and stimulating. The book is bound to be immensely useful to Orientalists, and it is hoped that the next volume and the next edition of this volume will be still more perfect. With all this praise, however, the reviewer thinks it too much to expect that the present work will replace Winternitz's *Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*, Vol. III.

A. D. P.

**Pañcaprakriyā of Sarvajñātman with the commentaries of Ānandajñāna and Pūrṇavidyāmuni.** Edited by T. R. CHINTAMANI, M.A., Ph. D., Bulletin of the Sanskrit Department No. 4, University of Madras. 1946. Pp. xxi+92. Price Rs. 2-8.

The *Pañcaprakriyā* is a small work of the *Śāṅkara Vedānta* in five chapters called *vicāras* dealing with the *Śabda-vṛtti*, *Mahā-vākyārtha*, *Tattvam padārthas*

*Avāntara-vākyārtha*, and *Bundha-mokṣa* respectively. It is composed by Sarva-jñātmamuni, the famous author of the *Saṃkṣepa-śāriraka*. The edition under review is based on five MSS. which are described by the editor in the Preface, while the Appendices given at the end supply us with the variant readings from the MSS. which could not be collated and utilised for this edition since they came to the notice of the editor only after the printing was over. In the English Introduction the editor has discussed at great length points of chronological interest while the Sanskrit *Prāstāvikam* gives a short account of the subject-matter of the work as a whole.

The text as well as the commentaries are very ably edited; and the *Index* at the end traces almost every citation in the work under review to its source. The brief *errata* on the last page testifies to the great care the editor has bestowed on the work.

The book is very nicely printed and deserves a place in the library of every student and lover of *vedānta*.

G. V. D.

**Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa.** By D. R. PATIL, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.  
Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona No. 1. 1946.  
Pp. xvii + 347. Price Rs. 15.

In spite of a century of Puranic researches, studies of individual *Purāṇas* like the one under review are yet a *desideratum*. The *Purāṇas* have now long been recognized as an important source for the history of Ancient India in its various aspects. But it is only recently that a systematic study of these tracts is undertaken with important results. The book under review is one such study—a study of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* from the cultural point of view.

In ten chapters the author deals with the various matters of cultural interest and has gathered together all information supplied by the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. The work is divided into two parts; Part I contains a statement of facts discovered in the *Purāṇa*; while the second part is devoted to an interpretation of these. This arrangement has naturally caused a repetition which could have been easily avoided without any prejudice to the utility of the work. It must, however, be said to the credit of the author that he has conducted his search for cultural history in a very scientific manner and has steered clear of the pit-falls that generally entice an enthusiastic worker in this field. The *Appendices* at the end also enhance the value of the work.

Dr. Patil deserves our hearty congratulations for having given us such a valuable study of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* at a time when we in a free India need such studies most for enabling us to solve the various cultural, religious and other problems which confront us today. We also congratulate the Deccan Institute for promoting such a study of the inexhaustible mine of information about Ancient India that the *Purāṇas* are and earnestly desire that it will be able to give us within a few years to come similar studies of the other *Purāṇas* as well.

G. V. D.



**Anthropometric Measurements of the Marathas.** By Mrs. IRAWATI KARVE, M.A., PH. D (Berlin). Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona 1948. Pp. vii+71 with tables and IX plates. Price Rs. 8.

This Monograph forms the second instalment of the studies of the castes and tribes of the Marathi region undertaken a few years ago by this gifted anthropologist. Her earlier paper on 'Anthropometric Investigation of the Madhyandin Brahmins of the Maratha Country' appeared in Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute in 1941. These form part of "intensive and detailed studies which may help to reconstruct the social process which has led up to the particular cultural and racial complex found in Maharashtra". These expectations have been amply realised and the credit is entirely due to the great persistence with which Dr. Karve has singlehanded pursued these studies in spite of immense difficulties of resources—both human and financial.

In the earlier sample of Madhyandin Brahmins, 624 adult males and 325 adult women were measured, in nine groups in scattered places like Amraoti, Akola, Aurangabad, Barsi, Ahmednagar, Jalna, Nagpur, Nasik and Poona. In the present survey 1608 men and fifty women were measured: the same fourteen measurements were recorded; the region covered was also almost as wide viz, all the Marathi districts of the Bombay Presidency, the C. P. and Berar and Hyderabad State. Thus the method adopted cover a much larger ground than the measurement of only 59 Maratha students from the Fergusson College, Poona, recorded by Dr B. S. Guha for the purpose of 1931 Census of India. Yet it is doubtful if the principles of selection of the size and location of random sampling are properly followed; nor can the representation of the statistical results be considered sound and satisfactory. Though the representation of the results with "Mean with error and standard deviation with error" follows the orthodox method, no attempt is made at utilising the modern tools like Fisher's Coefficient of Racial Likeness or Mahalanobis's  $D^2$  statistic method. The surveys recently made by Dr. D. N. Majumdar for the U. P. Government, and the Bengal Government, and also by the nonofficial agency of the Gujarat Research Society for the region Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch, have utilised these modern methods of statistical research. We hope that Dr. Karve, with her usual thoroughness, will utilise these methods in her next paper on the subject.

Her conclusions regarding the Madhyandin Brahmins surveyed in the first report, and regarding the Marathas in the report under review are almost similar as they support the view that the groups surveyed are anything but homogeneous. They represent various cultural and racial groups, colonising the region of Maharashtra at widely different times and places, the Madhyandin Brahmins were found to have three strains, dolicho-mesocephalic, dolicho-cephalic and brachy-cephalic, of which the second has "affinities with the forest peoples of pre-Dravidian India" and the third with "the intruding belt of broadheaded people which runs from Sind via Gujarat and Maharashtra upto Bengal".

From the present survey, Dr. Karve concludes that the Marathas are a mediterraneanoid people who have taken up two further elements in their racial makeup during their long occupation of the Maratha Country. One element is the primitive Veddoid and the other some broadheaded strain which cannot be identified at present.

P. G. S.

**Etched Beads in India.** By M. G. DIKSHIT, PH. D. Deccan College Monograph Series, Poona 1949. Pp. viii+80, plates XIX. Price Rs. 10.

Etched Beads are an important link between the Sumerian and the Indus Valley civilisations and this summary of the extant knowledge on the subject is both useful and interesting. India has been a very active centre of Bead manufacture and the identity of the bead materials used in India and in Mesopotamia is so complete that Childe believes India to be the centre of fabrication and that the workshops of etched beads at Ur were manned by Indus Valley artisans. The author has illustrated his book with sketches and photographs of various types of beads. The site map showing the centres of etched beads serves the useful purpose of stimulating further research, for the absence of any "bead" centres in the Deccan, Central India, Gujarat, Sourashtra and Bengal points to the necessity of further field work in these areas. Cambay has been an important centre for export of beads with agate and carnelian mines in its neighbourhood and it is surprising that no etched beads have been noticed so far. Now that the Deccan College Research Institute has an important centre of research in the Sabarmati Valley and in the Deccan and Ballary District, it is hoped that it will undertake field work in the areas where no etched beads have been so far found or noticed.

P. G. S.

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SUPPLEMENT I

DĪWĀN SHI'R AL-ḤĀDIRAH

(Qutbah b. Aws al-Dhubiānī al-Ḥādirah)

Related by

Abū Muḥammad b. 'Abbās al-Yazīdī (310 A. H.)

Edited By

Imtiāz 'Alī 'Arshī



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( ٨ )

وأنشد ابن السكيت للحادرة<sup>١</sup>:

كَمْ لِلنَّازِلِ مِنْ شَهْرٍ وَأَعْوَامٍ ! \* بِالْمُنْعَنِ بَيْنَ أَنْهَارٍ وَأَجَامٍ  
مَضَى ثَلَاثُ سِنِينَ مِنْذُ مُحَلَّ بِهَا \* وَعَامٌ مُحَلَّتْ وَهَذَا التَّابِعُ الْخَامِ  
وَالَّذِي فِي شَعْرِهِ: « هَذِي ثَلَاثُ سِنِينَ قَدْ خَلَوْنَ لَهَا ». وَ« الْخَامِ » الْخَامِسُ .

١ - اللسان : ٧ : ٢٦٨ ، و ١٨ : ٢٦٧ .

## جدول الخطأ والصواب

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دَقَّتْ صلبه . وانطلق قيس بن مالك المحاربي إلى بني ثعلبة فأنذرهم فاقتتلوا قتالاً  
شديداً . فهزمت بنو نمير وسائر بني عامر . ومات عقيل النميري وقُتل ذؤاب بن  
غالب وعبد الله بن عمرو أحد بني الصموت .

فقال الحادرة في ذلك :

كَأَنَّ عَقِيلًا فِي الضَّحَى حَلَقَتْ بِهِ<sup>١</sup>

وِطَارَتْ بِهِ فِي الْجَوِّ عَنَقَاءُ مَغْرَبِ

وَيُرْوَى «وِطَارَتْ بِهِ فِي اللَّوْحِ» . وَهُوَ الْهَوَاءُ .

وَذِي كَرَمٍ يَدْعُوكُمْ آلَ عَامِرٍ !

لَدَى مَعْرَكٍ سَرِبَالُهُ يَتَصَبَّبُ

رَأَتْ عَامِرٌ وَقَعَ السَّيْفُ ، فَأَسْلَبُوا

أَخَاهُمْ ، وَلَمْ يَعْطَفْ مِنَ الْخَيْلِ مَرْهَبُ

وَسَلَّمَ لَهَا أَنْ رَأَى الْمَوْتَ عَامِرٌ

لَهُ مَرْكَبٌ فَوْقَ الْأَيْسَنَةِ أَحْدَبُ

إِذَا مَا أَظْلَمَتْهُ عَوَالِي رِمَاحِنَا

تَدَلَّى بِهِ نَهْدُ الْحَزَارَةِ مِنْهَبُ

عَلَى صَلَوِيهِ مُرْهَفَاتُ ، كَأَنَّهُ

قَوَادِمُ تَنْسَرُ بَرًّا عَنْهُمْ مِنْكَبُ

قال : وهذا اليوم يعرف يوم شواحط — قبيلة من محارب .

١ - في آخر م نقلا عن نسخة اللغاتى : «فان عقيلًا بالضحى علقته به» .

يقول فيها:

فان تحسبوها بالحجاب ذليلةً  
 فما أنا يوماً إن ركبْتُ ذليل  
 سأمنعها في مُحْصَبة ثعلبية  
 لهم عدد وافي وعزٍّ أصيل  
 فان شئتموا، مُعدنا صديقاً وعدتموا  
 واما أبيتُم، فاللقام زُحول

قال ولهج الهجاء بينهما بعد ذلك . فكان هذا سببه .

## (٧)

اوذكر أبو عمرو الشيباني: أن جيشاً لبني عامر بن صعصعة أقبل وعليهم  
 ثلاثة رؤساء: ذؤاب بن غالب من عقيل ثم من بني كعب بن ربيعة، وعبد الله بن  
 عمرو من بني الصموت، وعقيل بن مالك من بني تميم. وهم يريدون غزو بني ثعلبة  
 بن سعد رهط الحادرة ومن معهم من مُحارب. وكانوا يومئذ معهم. فنذرت بهم  
 بنو ثعلبة. فركب قيس بن مالك المحاربي الخنصي وُجُويّة بن نصر الحرمي أحد بني  
 ثعلبة للنظر إلى القوم. فلما دنوا منهم عرف عقيل بن مالك النميري جوية بن نصر  
 الحرمي فناداه: «إلى! يا جوية بن نصر! فان لي خبراً أسره إليك». فقال:  
 «إليك أقبلتُ لكن لغير ما ظننت». فقال له: «ما فعلت قلوص؟»، يعني امرأته.  
 فقال: «هي في الظعن أسراً ما كانت قط وأجملُ».

ثم حمل كل واحد منهما على صاحبه، واختلفا طعنتين. فطعنه جوية طعنة

وأن شر النساء الحُمَيْراء المِحْيَاض والسُّوَيْدَاء المِفْرَاض .  
(٦٩) ' (وترى الذميمة<sup>٢</sup> على مراسنهم<sup>٣</sup> \* يوم الهياج<sup>٤</sup> كإذن النمل<sup>٥</sup>)

## الاستدراك

(٦)

<sup>١</sup> قال المفضل: كان الحادرة جاراً لرجل من بني سليم. فأغار زبان بن سيار على إبله، فأخذها فدفعها إلى رجل من أهل وادي القرى يهودى. وكان له عليه دين. فأعطاه إياه بدينه. وكان أهل وادي القرى حلفاء لبني ثعلبة. فلما سمع اليهودى بذلك قال: «سيجعل الحادرة هذا سبباً لنقض العهد الذى بيننا وبينه، ونحن نقرأ الكتاب ولا ينبغي لنا أن نغدر». فرد الابل على الحادرة، فردها على جاره، ورجع إلى زبان فقال له: «أعطنى مالى الذى عليك». فأعطاه إياه زبان. ووقع الهجاء بينه وبين الحادرة. فقال الحادرة فيه:

لِعَمْرَةٍ بَيْنَ الْأَخْرَمِينَ طُلُوعٌ \* تَقْدَامُ مِنْهَا مَسْهَرٌ وَمَحِيلٌ  
وَقَفْتُ بِهَا حَتَّى تَعَالَى لِي الضُّحَى \* لِأُخْبِرَ عَنْهَا أَنْفَى لَسْتُؤْلٍ

- ١ - زيادة البيت عن جمهرة اللغة لابن دريد (٨٠، ١)، والصطاح (٢٨٧، ٢)، وأساس البلاغة (٢٥٢، ٢)، واللسان (١٠٥، ١٣ و ١١٣، ١٥ و ٢٩٣، ١٧).
- ٢ - فى الأساس واللسان وفى المبهج لابن جنى (١٨): «الذنين»، وهو المخاط يسيل من الأنف، و«الذميمة» شيء يخرج من مسام المازن كبيض النمل.
- ٣ - «المرسن» الأنف. وجمعه المراسن. وأصله فى ذات الخوافر ثم استعمل للانسان. وروى «مناخرهم».
- ٤ - فى الصطاح واللسان (١٠٥، ١٣ و ١١٣، ١٥) والمبهج لابن جنى (١٨): «غب الهياج». وفى الجمهرة «غب العجاج». والعجاج بالفتح: الغبار. وفى الأساس «يوم اللقاء».
- ٥ - وروى ابن دريد «كإذن النمل»، وكذا فى الأساس. و«الجلل» ضرب من النمل كبار. و«المازنب»، بيض النمل.
- ٦ - زيادة عن الأغاني ٣، ٨٠.



(٦٥) يُعَيِّ الرِّعَاءَ بِهَا مَسَارِحَهُمْ \* وَجَفَتْ مَرَاتِعُهَا عَنِ النَّبْزِ  
(ويروى «تعنى الرعاء بها مسارحهم»<sup>١</sup>. «جفت» (أى)<sup>٢</sup> لم تطمئن. يقول:  
البازل لا يجدها ما يأكل<sup>٣</sup>.

(٦٦) إِذْ لَا يُدْنِسُنَا الشِّتَاءُ، وَلَا \* نَنْطَلُءُ الضَّعِيفَ إِرَادَةَ الْأَكْلِ

(٦٧) وَيُنْقِسُونَ عَنِ الْمُضَافِ إِذَا \* نَظَرَ الْفَوَارِسُ عَوْرَةَ الرَّجْلِ

«المضاف، الملجأ. و«الرجل، الرِّجَالَةُ»<sup>٤</sup>.

(٦٨) الْمُقْبِلِينَ نَحْوَرَ خَيْلِهِمْ \* حَدَّ الرِّمَاحِ وَغُبَيْيَةَ السَّبْلِ  
أصل «الغبية» الدفعة الشديدة من المطر، ثم كل دفعة من نبل أو خيل أو شتم  
فهي<sup>٥</sup> غبية. قال ذو الرُّمَّة:

إِذَا اسْتَهَلَّتْ عَلَيْنَا غُبَيْيَةً<sup>٦</sup> أَرَجَتْ

مَرَابِضُ الْعَيْنِ حَتَّى يَأْرَجَ الْخُشْبُ

قال أبو عبد الله (اليزيدى)<sup>٨</sup>: حدثني أحمد بن الحارث الخزاز<sup>٩</sup> عن ابن الأعرابي،  
قال: سمعت أعرابياً يقول: «ما يُسْرِثُنِي بَعْلَمَى عَلِمٌ». قيل (له):<sup>١٠</sup> «وما عليك؟»  
قال: «أعلم أن العنز تُحِبُّ السَّقْلَ، وتكره الوَبْلَ، وأن شر الغيات غيبة النبل،

١ - ما بين العكفين زيد عن مصب.

٢ - زيادة عن ر.

٣ - في مب و مصا «لا يجدها ما تاكل».

٤ - قد سقط هذا التفسير من ر.

٥ - في تهذيب الألفاظ لابن السكيت (٥٤): والمقبلون صدور خيلهم \* جد الرماح وغية النبل

وزيد فيه: أَخَذُوا قِسِيَهُمْ بِأَيْمَانِهِمْ يَتَعَطَّلُونَ تَعَطَّلَ النَّمْلُ

٦ - في ر «فهو».

٧ - ليراجع الديوان (٢٠)، طبع كيمبرج وفيه «عليه» بدل «عليها». وقال الشارح: «الاستهلال شدة وقع المطر حتى تسمع صوته». «غبية» أى مطر غليظ. وقوله «أرجت» أى بالطيب. و«العين» بقر الوحش. وقوله «حتى يأرج الخشب» أى أخشاب الكناس.

٨ - زيادة عن ر و مصب.

٩ - في م «الخزاز».

عُتْبَةُ بْنُ أَبِي لَهَبٍ:

كُلُّ لَهْ نِيَّةٍ فِي بَغْضِ صَاحِبِهِ  
بِنِعْمَةِ اللَّهِ تَنْقَلِيكُمْ وَتَقْلُونَا

(٦١) ووجدتُ آبائي لهم خُلقٌ \* عَفْثُ السَّمَائِلِ غَيْرُ ذِي دَخَلٍ  
قوله «غير ذي دخل» يقول: أنا غير مدخول. يقال «رجل فيه دخل ورجل  
مدخول» إذا كان فيه عيبٌ.<sup>٢</sup>

(٦٢) لو تَفْضِدُ قَيْنَ لَقَلَّتْ لِنَهُمُ \* ضُبُرٌ عَلَى النَّجْدَاتِ وَالْأَزَلِ  
«النجدة» القتال والشدة. و«الأزل» الضيق. أى يجلسون فى المكان الضيق<sup>٣</sup>  
فلا يسرحون. يقول: إذا ابْتَسَلُوا صَبَرُوا.<sup>٤</sup>

(٦٣) وَعَلَى الرِّزِيَّةِ مِنْ نَفُوسِهِمْ \* وَتَلَاتِلِ اللَّزْبَاتِ وَالْقَتْلِ  
«الرزية» المصابة فى النفس والمال. و«التلاتل» الزلازل. و«اللزبات» الأزمته  
الشَّدَادَةُ. يقال «نزلت بالناس لزبة» أى جوع وشدة.

(٦٤) هَلَّا سَأَلْتِ؟ إِذَا هُمْ أَحْتَمَلُوا \* فَتَحَوَّلُوا لِحَظِيَّةِ حَمَلِ  
«الحظيطة» أرض بين أرضين مطيرتين<sup>٥</sup> وقد أخطأها المطر. و«الحمل» الجذب.

١ - قال المرزبانى (معجم الشعراء: ٣٠٩، طبع القاهرة سنة ١٣٥٤ هـ): «وأمة أمّنة ابنة العباس بن عبد المطلب. وهى لام ولد سوداء. ولذلك يقول الفضل:

وأنا الأخضر من يعرفنى \* أخضر الجلدة فى بيت العرب  
من يساجلنى يساجل ماجداً \* يملأ الدلو إلى عقد الكرب

والفضل يكنى أبا المطلب، ويقال أبو عتبة. وقال الأصمغانى (الأغاني: ١٥، ٢): «وكان أحد شعراء بنى هاشم المذكورين وفصحائهم. وكان شديد الأدمة. وهو هاشمى الأيوين. أمه بنت العباس بن عبد المطلب. ... وإنما أتاه سواد من قبل أم جدته. وكانت حبشية». وكان حياً إلى عهد سليمان بن عبد الملك الأموى:

٩٩-٩٦ هـ - ٧١٥-١٧ ع

٢ - قد سقط هذا الشرح من م.

٣ - سقط من مب و مصا «الضيق».

٤ - فى مصا «المصاب».

٥ - فى م «الشَّدَادَةُ».

٦ - فى م «مطيرين».

(٥٦) وَعَدَى الْعَوَادَى عَنْ زِيَارَتِهَا \* إِلَّا تَلَاقَيْنَا عَلَى شُغْلٍ<sup>٢</sup>  
«عدى العوادي، (أى)<sup>٣</sup> صرفت الصوارف» عن زيارتها إلا أن<sup>٤</sup> نلتقى ونحن  
على شغل.

(٥٧) وَرَجَاهُمْ، يَوْمَ الدَّوَارِ كَمَا \* يَرْجُو الْمُقَامِرُ نَسِيلَ الْخَصَلِ  
«الدوار، نسك (كان)<sup>٥</sup> لأهل الجاهلية يطوفون حوله. يقول: رجا أن يلقاهم  
يوم الدوار حين يطوفون بالنسك. ونيل الخصل، أى كما يرجو الذى قَمَر أن  
يدور له القمر.

(٥٨) وَلَقَدْ عَرَفْتُ لَيْثِنَ نَاتٍ وَتَبَاعَدَتْ \* أَلَّا تَلَاقِيهَا سِنَى الْخَسَلِ  
العرب تقول «لا أفعل ذاك سِنَّ الخسل». و«الخسل، الضب الصغير من<sup>٦</sup> حين  
تنفق عنه البيضة ثم ما بلغ فسنة لا تحول<sup>٧</sup> ويعيش مائتى سنة وثلاثمائة<sup>٨</sup>.

(٥٩) فَيُثْنِي إِلَيْكَ! فَإِنِّى رَجُلٌ \* لَمْ يُخْزِنِ<sup>٩</sup> حَسْبِى وَلَا أَصْلَى  
«يثنى إليك، أى تباعدى عنى<sup>١٠</sup>.

(٦٠) أَدْعُ الْفَوَاحِشَ إِنْ أُسَبَّ بِهَا \* وَشَرِيكَهَا، فَكَلَيْهَا أَقْلَى  
<sup>١١</sup>«القلى، البغض. يريد أنه يكره الفواحش طبعاً. قال الفضل بن عباس بن

١ - فى مصا «أن لا».

٢ - البيت سقط من م ب.

٣ - ما بين العكفين سقط من ر.

٤ - فى مصب «صرفتى». وفى ر «صرفنى».

٥ - سقط من م «أن».

٦ - فى م ب و مصا «مذ».

٧ - فى م و ر و مصب «لا تحرك».

٨ - فى مصا «مائى». وفى م بدل هذا التفسير: «يقال لا أفعله سن الخسل لأن سنه لا يثبت».

٩ - فى م «لا تخزنى».

١٠ - زيادة عن م ب و مصا. وفى مصب: «يثنى إليك، أرجى. يقول تباعدى عنى».

١١ - زيادة هذا التفسير عن مصا فقط.



قال عنتره: إذا تَقَعُ الرَّمَاحُ بِجَانِبِيهِ  
تَأَخَّرَ قَابِعاً فِيهِ صُدُودُ

ويقال<sup>٢</sup>: «قبع في ثوبه» إذا التَفَّ فيه. (حدثنا اليزيدي قال)<sup>٣</sup> قال عبد الرحمن حدثنا عمي عن أبي عمرو قال: تكلم ابن الزبير، فاجابه رجلٌ، فقال: «من هذا؟» فسكت. فقال (ابن الزبير):<sup>٤</sup> «قاتله الله! ضَبَحَ ضَبْحَةَ الثعلب وقَبَعَ قَبْسَةَ الْقَنْفُذِ».

( ٥ )

وقال الحادرة (أيضاً)<sup>٥</sup>:

(٥٥) أَمْسَتْ سُمَيَّةٌ صَرَمَتْ حَبْلِي \* وَنَاتَ وَخَالَفَ شَكْلُهَا شَكْلِي  
«صرمت حبل» يقول<sup>٦</sup>: قطعت وصلى. «وخالف شكلها شكلي» يقول: خالف نجارها نجاري وأمرها أمري. وقال بعضهم نجار وبعضهم نُجَار. قال وسمعت جبر بن الصميل يقول:

نجارا لا أريد بهم نجاراً  
أى ضرب لا أريد بهم غيره. و«النَّجْر» مثل النَّجَار. يقال «فلان كريم النجار» أى الخِلْقَةُ والقدر.

١ - فى ر و م «فيا». ليراجع ديوان عنتره بن شداد العبسى (٦١)، طبع مصر ١٣٢٩ هـ. وفيه:

«إذا وقع الرماح بمنكيه \* تولى قابعاً فيه صدود»

قال الشارح: «تولى قابعاً» القبع صوت يرده الفرس من منخره إلى حلقه، ولا يكاد يكون إلا من نفار أو شيء يتقيه ويكرهه. وهو بذلك يصف فرسه.

٢ - فى م و مب و مصا «وقالوا». وسقط من قوله «يقال» إلى قوله «فيه» من مصب.

٣ - ما بين العكفين سقط من م و مب و مصا.

٤ - «القنفذ» دويبة ذات ريش حاد فى أعلاه، يثق به نفسه إذ يجتمع مستديراً تحته. ويوجد منه أنواع كثيرة.

٥ - ما بين العكفين سقط من ر.

٦ - زيادة هذا التفسير عن ر و مصب.

٧ - فى مصب «أى» بدل «يقول».

(٥٢) تَصْبُ سَرَاً بِالْمَضِيقِ عَلَيْهِمْ \* وَتَثْنِي بَطَاءً، لَا تَحْشُ وَلَا تَعْدُو<sup>٣</sup>  
 «تصب سراعاً، أى تحذر حذراً. وهذا من سرعتهم. و«تثنى بطاء»، أى غير  
 متكشفة؛ لا تريد الفرار. أى هى قُطِفَ إذا انثنت.  
 (٥٣) إِذَا هِيَ شَكَّ السَّمْعُ نَحْوَهَا \* وَخَامَتْ عَنِ الْإِبْطَالِ، أَفْجَحَمَهَا الْقَدُّ<sup>٤</sup>  
 «شك» انتظم. و«خامت» جبت وكرهت. يقال «خام بنو فلان عن بنى  
 فلان، إذا كرهوا الاقدام عليهم. و«القُد» السوط. <sup>٥</sup>(قال عبد الرحمن: أنشدنا  
 عمى عن أبى عمرو لرجل من بنى أسد:

أَعْبَتَ عَلَيْنَا أَنْ نُسَمِّرَ<sup>٦</sup> قِدْنَا؟  
 وَمَنْ لَمْ يُسَمِّرْ قِدَّهُ يَتَقَطَّعُ<sup>٧</sup>

(٥٤) سَوَالِفُهَا عُوجٌ إِذَا هِيَ أَدْبَرَتْ \* لِكَرِّ سَرِيعٍ، فَهِيَ قَابِعَةُ مُحْرَدٍ<sup>٨</sup>  
 «سوالفها عوج إذا هى أدبرت» عن القوم. يقول<sup>٩</sup> فيها تهيو لليل لا تقرأ.  
 «فهى قابعة حرد، أدخلت أيديها فى أعناقها»<sup>١٠</sup> لم تَمُدَّهَا لَتَمَضَى.

١ - فى الأغاني «تكر».

٢ - فى الأغاني «ما تحب». وفى مصافيق «تحش». «تخب». وفى مصب «تخب» فى المتن؛ وفى التفسير  
 «ويروى تحش».

٣ - فى مب «تعدو». وفى مصافيق «تعدوا».

٤ - فى م و مصا و مصب «متكشفة».

٥ - «السمرى»، الرمح الصليب العود.

٦ - فى ر «قحمها». وفى الأغاني «ألقها».

٧ - ما بين العكفين سقط من ر و مصب.

٨ - فى ر و م «أَنَّ نُسَمِّرَ» ولم «يُسَمِّرَ». وهو غلط.

٩ - فى ر و م و مصا و مصب «يقال».

١٠ - فى مصا «لا تقرأ».

١١ - فى م «أدخلت أعناقها فى أيديها».

يقول: من الحديث ما إذا حُدِّثَ<sup>١</sup> به هلك أهله مما عليهم فيه من العار. ومنه ما هو سرور لأهله.

(٤٧) (ونحن منعنا من تميم، وقد طغت \* مراعى الملا حتى تَضَمَّنَهَا نَجْد)<sup>٢</sup>

(٤٨) بِمَحْبَسِنَا يَوْمَ الْكَفَافَةِ خَيْلَنَا \* لِنَمْنَعَ سَبَى الْحَيِّ إِذْ كُرِهَ الرَّد<sup>٣</sup>

«إذ كره الرد»<sup>٤</sup> يقول إذا كان ردُّهم مكروهاً.

(٤٩) (على حين شالت واستخفت رحالهم \* حلائبُ أحياء، يسيل بها الشد)<sup>٥</sup>

(٥٠) بِمَحْبَسِ ضَنْكِ، وَالرَّمَا حُ كَأَنَّهَا \* دَوَالِي جُرُورٍ بَيْنَهَا سُلْبُ جُرْد

«الضنك» الضيق. و«الدوالي» الأرشية التي يذلى بها (أى)<sup>٦</sup> يُجَرُّ بها.

و«الجرور» التي لا يُخْرِجُ دَلْوُهَا إِلَّا بِجَمَل<sup>٧</sup>. و«السلب» شئ يُقْتَلُ منه

الأرشية<sup>٨</sup>. و«جرد» قد تمحصت وذهب زئبرها.

(٥١) إِلَى اللَّيْلِ، حَتَّى أَشْرَقَتْ بِنَفُوسِهَا \* وَزَيْنَ مَظْلُومٍ دَوَابِرَهَا وَرَدَ

«أشرفت» (أى)<sup>٩</sup> اغضت. يقال «شرق بريقه» أى غصَّ به. و«مظلوم» دم

فُجِرَ في غير حينه لم يكن أدرك. يريد أنها أخاضت<sup>١٠</sup> فيه دوابرها. وهى مآخير

حوافرها. و«ورد» أحمر.

١ - فى رد أحدث.

٢ - زيادة البيت عن الأغاني: ٨٠، ٣.

٣ - وفى الأغاني:

كمعطفنا يوم الكفافة خيلنا \* لتتبع أخرى الجيش إذ بلغ الحد

٤ - زيادة عن مب و مصا.

٥ - قد سقط التفسير كله من ر و مصب.

٦ - زيادة عن م.

٧ - فى م «بجمل». وفى مصا «لا تخرج».

٨ - فى ر «يقتل». وسقطت الجملة من مب.

٩ - زيادة عن مصب.

١٠ - فى مصا «خاضت».



و«الشمايل»، الأخلاق والطبايع. و«الجلد»، المتين<sup>١</sup> القوى.

(٤٣) ولنا ليغشى الطامعون بيوتنا \* إذا كان عوصاً عند ذى الحسب الرّفْد  
«الرّفْد»، العون والعطية. أى إذا كان الرّفْد معتاصاً غير سهل المخرج  
بدلنا<sup>٢</sup> وأعطينا.

(٤٤) ولنا لمن قوم قاتل جهلتهم \* مكاسب فى يوم الحفيظة للحمد<sup>٣</sup>  
(«أنى»، أى كيف. و) هذا البيت مُكفّأ<sup>٤</sup>.

(٤٥) ألا هل أتى ذيان أن رماحنا \* بكُشَيْة عالتها الجراحة والحدّ  
«عالتها»، أى شقت عليها. و«عاله»، شق عليه. و«الحد»، أى حد ما لقيت  
(عليه)<sup>٥</sup> من الشر.

(٤٦) فاثنوا علينا! لا أباً لايكم! \* باحساننا<sup>٦</sup>، إن الثناء هو الخلد  
ويروى «باحساننا». «إن الثناء هو الخلد»<sup>٧</sup>، أى هو من السرور فكأنه قد أعطى  
الخلد. قال<sup>٨</sup>: وإنما أراد قول أبى بن هُرَيم<sup>٩</sup>:

فاذا<sup>١٠</sup> أتيتم أهلكم فتحدثوا  
ومن الحديث مهالك وخلود

١ - فى ر و مصب «المن». وسقط من م.

٢ - فى ر و م «بدلنا». وفى مصب «أعطينا».

٣ - فى م «للجد».

٤ - زيادة عن م و مصا.

٥ - قد سقط تفسير هذا البيت من ر و مصب.

٦ - فى البيان للجاحظ (٢، ١٤٢) «فأصوا».

٧ - فى م و مصا و مصب والبيان للجاحظ (٢، ١٤٢): «إحسانا». وفى الانصاف لابن السيد البطليوسى (٧٧): «بأفعالنا».

٨ - فى م و مصا و مصب «إحسانا». وسقطت الرواية الثانية (أى إحسانا) عن ر. وفى الأغاني (٣، ٨٠) وعمون الأخبار لابن قتيبة (٣، ١٦١): «إحسانا». وخفى على ابن قتيبة اسم الشاعر.

٩ - سقط من ر «قال».

١٠ - فى ر «أى بن هرم». وفى مصا «أنى بن هريم». وفى مصب «بن هرم».

١١ - فى مصب «وإذا».

وَأُنْشِدْ لِلْأَعْشَى<sup>١</sup>: فَمِيطَى<sup>٢</sup> تَمِيطَى بِضَلْبِ الْفَوَادِ  
وَوَصَالَ حَبْلِ<sup>٣</sup> وَكَتَادَهَا

(٣٩) وَشَطَّتْ لِسْنَاكَ الْمَزَارَ، وَخِلْسَهَا \* مُفَقَّدَةً، إِنْ الْحَبِيبَ لَهُ فَقَدْ  
أَي مَثَلًا يَسْتَبِينَ فَقْدَهُ.

(٤٠) فَلَسْنَا بِحَمَلَى الْكَشَاحَةِ بَيْنَا \* لِيُئِيسِنَا الدَّحْلَ الضَّغَائِنُ وَالْحَقْدُ  
«الكشاحة» العداوة والبغض. يقال «فلان كاشح» أى عدو. يقول: إِذَا  
أَصَابَتِ الْقَرِيبَ مِنَّا نَكْبَةً رُبَعْنَا عَلَيْهِ، وَتَحَلَّلَتِ الضَّغَائِنُ عَنْ<sup>٤</sup> قُلُوبِنَا.

(٤١) فَلَا تُفْحَشْ فِي دَارِنَا وَصَدِيقِنَا \* وَلَا وَرَعَ الثَّهْبَى إِذَا ابْتَدَرَ الْمَجْدُ  
يقول: لَا نَفْحَشْ إِذَا كُنَّا فِي أَهْلِنَا وَلَا نَفْحَشْ عَلَى صَدِيقِنَا. و«الورع» الْجَبَانُ  
الْهَيُوبُ<sup>٥</sup>. فيقول: إِذَا ابْتَدَرْنَا الْمَجْدَ لَمْ نَبْتَدِرْهُ<sup>٦</sup> وَنَحْنُ نَهَابِهِ. أَي نَحْنُ  
مُتَقَدِّمُونَ فِيهِ.

(٤٢) وَإِنَّا سَوَاءٌ كَهْلُنَا وَوَلِيدُنَا<sup>٧</sup> \* لَنَا مُخْلَقٌ جَزُولٌ شِمَائِلُهُ جَلْدُ  
يقول: نَحْنُ كُلُّنَا حُلَمَاءُ. غَلَامُنَا مِثْلُ كَهْلِنَا. «لَنَا خَلْقٌ جَزُولٌ» أَي جَسِيمٌ ضَخْمٌ<sup>٨</sup>.

- ١ - سقط اسم الشاعر من م. وفي مصب «قال الأعشى».
- ٢ - في الصحاح (١، ٢٥٧) واللسان (٤، ٣٨٦) وفي شرح ديوان الأعشى نقلاً عن أبي عبيدة: «أميطى».
- ٣ - في م ومصا ومب والصحاح واللسان «وصول جبال وكتادها». وكذا في الديوان (ص ٥٠). وقال في الشرح: «أبو عبيدة: أميطى وصال حبل وسط عنا، أى أذهب عنا. يقول إن تتجيت عنى فأتى صلب الفؤاد وصول لمن وصل، كغفور لمن كفر».
- ٤ - في مصا «لتأتى لى المزار» وأظنه أنسب وأولى. وقال بهامشها «يقال تأيته وأتأيته بمعنى».
- ٥ - التفسير سقط من ر ومصب.
- ٦ - في م «علينا».
- ٧ - في ر ومصا ومصب «من». وقال بهامش مصا «معنى البيت أنه لا يقعد عن نصر ذويه وإن كانوا كاشحيه».
- ٨ - قال بهامش مصا: «الورع الجبان. والوضع والوضع طيور تشبه الجبان بها. قال الشاعر: يكي بواكيه أنين الضيعان، أراد جمع ضوع».
- ٩ - في م «لم نبتدره». وهو تصحيف جلى.
- ١٠ - بهامش مصب «نسخة: غلامنا».
- ١١ - سقط من م ومب ومصا «ضخم».

- (٣٥) فترى بحيث توكأت ثفناتها \* أثراً كُفِّتَ حَصَّ القَطَا لِلْهَجْعِ<sup>١</sup>  
يريد<sup>٢</sup> كان موضع ثفناتها موضع قطعاً<sup>٣</sup>. يعنى ناقته<sup>٤</sup>.
- (٣٦) (وتبقى إذا مَسَّتْ مناسمها الحصى \* وجعاً وأن تزجر به تترفع  
(٣٧) ومتاع ذِعلبة تخبُّ براكب \* ماضٍ بشيعته وغير مُشيع<sup>٥</sup>)

## ( ٤ )

وقال الحادرة<sup>٦</sup> أيضاً<sup>٧</sup>. وهى أصمعية<sup>٨</sup>.

(٣٨) الطويل أظاعته ولا تُتَوَدُّ عنا هند \* لتحزننا؟ عزَّ التصدف والكُند  
أى ما أشدَّ ما بخلت! وه التصدف، الميل عما تُحبُّ إلى ما تكره. والمرأة «التصدوف»،  
التي تميل وجهها عن زوجها عند الجماع<sup>٩</sup>. وه «الكُند»، الكفر والجحود. ومنه «إن  
الانسان لربِّه لَكَنُودٌ»<sup>١١</sup> أى جاحد لنعمته كافر<sup>١٢</sup>. وبه سُميت كُندة.

١ - فى رومصا «للمضجع».

٢ - فى م «يقول».

٣ - فى م «قطاة».

٤ - هنا زيادة فى م. وهى «الثفنتا رؤس الذراعين فى رؤس الساقين ورؤس الساقين فى رؤس الفخذين.  
وجعلها كذلك ليدل على صغر الثفنتا».

٥ - زيادة البيتين عن المفضليات (١، ١٢). وه المنسم، خف البعير. وه الذعلبة، الناقاة السريعة. شبهت بالذعلبة،  
وهى النعام، لسرعتها. وه الخبيب، ضرب من العدو.

٦ - فى رومصب «وقال أيضاً». وقصته، على ما حكاه أبو عمرو، أنه خرج خارجة بن حصن فى جمع من  
بنى فزارة ومن بنى ثعلبة بن سعد يريد غزو بنى عبس بن بغيض. فلقوا جيشاً لبنى تميم على ماء يقال له  
الكفافة. وتميم فى جمع سعد والرياب وبنى عمرو. فقاتلوهم قتالاً شديداً وهزمت تميم واجفلت. وهذا  
اليوم يقال له «يوم كفافة». فقال الحادرة فى ذلك. — (الأغانى ٣، ٨٠).

٧ - قوله «أيضاً» سقط من م.

٨ - فى م «أصمعية». وهو من أغلاط الطبع.

٩ - فى نسخة بهامش م «لتحزننا» وفى مصا «لتحزننا».

١٠ - فى م «النكاح».

١١ - الآية ٦ من سورة العاديات.

١٢ - سقط قوله «لنعمته كافر» من م.



الحدثان والوحشة. ويقال «فلان قمن (من)»<sup>١</sup> أن يفعل ذاك»<sup>٢</sup> أى خليك. وأنشد:

«أو ترحلون وإنا<sup>٣</sup> منكم قمن»

أى خلقاء أن تلحق بكم<sup>٤</sup>. و«نابى المضجع» (غير مطمئنة).<sup>٥</sup> يقول (هو مخوف)<sup>٦</sup> لا يطمئن فيه (مضجعه)<sup>٧</sup>.

(٣٣) عَرَسْتُهُ، ووسادُ رأسى<sup>٨</sup> ساعدٌ \* خاظى البَضِيع، عروقه لم تَدَسَّع<sup>٩</sup>  
«الخاظى» الممتلىء. و«البضيع» اللحم. وهو اسم وحده كما قيل دخيس. ويقال  
«دسع فلان»<sup>١٠</sup> بجرحته «إذا دَفَع بها»<sup>١١</sup>. و«قصعها» إذا بلعها.<sup>١٢</sup> فيقول: هذا لا  
تمتلى عروق يده من الدم، وإنما تمتلى عروق يد الشيخ. كما قال:  
بادرة<sup>١٣</sup> عروقه من الغَضَن

(٣٤) قَرَفَعْتُ عنه. وهو أحمر فاترٌ \* قد بانَ منى<sup>١٤</sup> غير أن لم يُقَطَّع  
«فاتر» أى<sup>١٥</sup> قد فتر. و«أحمر» يعنى ساعده. ومثل «قد بان منى» (غير أن لم  
يقطع)<sup>١٦</sup> قولهم «قد انقطعت رجلى غير أنها معى».

- ١ - زيادة عن م. و فى مصا «بان».
- ٢ - فى م و مصا «ذلك».
- ٣ - فى مصا و مصب «فانا».
- ٤ - وقال صاحب اللسان (١٧، ١٧٧) «وشاهد قمن، بالكسر (أى بكسر الميم) قول الخويدرة، . يعنى هذا البيت.
- ٥ - زيادة عن ر و سقط منها ما بقى.
- ٦ - زيادة عن م.
- ٧ - زيادة عن مصب.
- ٨ - فى ر و مصا «كفى». وكتب مصحح مصا بالهامش «والصواب: رأسى».
- ٩ - وذكر البيت فى اللسان فى موضعين أولا فى مادة «بضع» (٩، ٣٥٩) وثانياً فى مادة «دسع» (٩، ٤٣٨).
- ١٠ - وقال فى تفسيره «أى عروق ساعده غير مبتلة من الدم لأن ذلك إنما يكون للشيوخ».
- ١١ - قوله «فلان» سقط من مصا و مصب.
- ١٢ - فى م «دفعها».
- ١٣ - فى م «أبلعه». و فى ر و مب «أبامها».
- ١٤ - فى م «باحرة». و فى مصا «باجرة». و فى مب «باردة».
- ١٥ - فى ر و مصب «عنى».
- ١٦ - «أى» سقط من مصب.
- ١٧ - زيادة عن مصب.

«الوَخْد» بين العَنَق والتَقْرِب. «السَّمِيدَع» الجميل الشجاع. وجعله منخرق القميص لمعالجته الأسفار.

(٢١) وَمَطْيِيَّةٌ حَمَلْتُ رَحْلَ مَطْيِيَّةٍ \* حَرَجٌ تُتَمُّ مِنَ الْعِثَارِ بِدَعْدَعٍ  
«حملت رحل<sup>٢</sup> مطية» يقول: سرت<sup>٤</sup> على إبل فكلما انحسر بعير، (أو مات)<sup>٥</sup>  
أو قام، حولت رحله على آخر. و«الحرج» الطويلة على الأرض (تشبيهاً بسرير  
الميت)<sup>٦</sup>. و«تتم من العثار بدعدع» قال: كانت الإبل في الجاهلية إذا عثرت قيل  
لها: «دع دع أولسأ»<sup>٧</sup> لِيُتَمَّ وَتُتَمَّى. (فلما جاء الإسلام كره)<sup>٨</sup>. قال الأصمعي:  
حدثنا أبو مسلم الطائفي<sup>٩</sup> قال: «كره في الإسلام أن يقال دَعْ دَع»<sup>١٠</sup>. وقيل  
قولوا: «اللهم ارفع وانفع». (ويروى «تتمى ملعثار بدعدع»)<sup>١١</sup>.

(٢٢) وَمُنَاخٌ غَيْرُ تَبْيِيَّةٍ<sup>١٢</sup> عَرَّسْتُهُ \* قِيمٍ مِنَ الْحَدَثَانِ نَابِي الْمَضْجَعِ  
يقال «مالي في (هذا)<sup>١٣</sup> المكان ثنية» أي مُكث. «قن» (أي)<sup>١٤</sup> خليف أن يكون به

- ١ - في المفضليات «ظهر».
- ٢ - في المفضليات «تم».
- ٣ - في مصا «ظهر» ههنا.
- ٤ - في ر و مصب «نحن» بدل «سرت». ومن هنا إلى قوله «ولما تملى» عروق يد الشيخ، في تفسير بيت  
أوله «عرسته اه» سقط من م. ولعله لأجل ضياع صفحة كما لا يخفى.
- ٥ - زيادة عن مصا. وفي م «مات» بدل «قام». وفي مصب «انحسر بعير وقام».
- ٦ - زيادة عن م.
- ٧ - في مصا و مصب «ولسأ».
- ٨ - سقط من م و مصا.
- ٩ - في م و مصا قال عبد الرحمن حدثني عمي قال حدثنا محمد بن مسلم. وفي مصب كذلك، إلا أن فيه «أبو  
مسلم» بدل «محمد بن مسلم».
- ١٠ - زيادة عن م. وبهامش مصا «وتتمى ملعثار» أي ترفع.
- ١١ - وفي اللسان (٩، ٣٥٩) «تبية»: وكتب المصحح بالهامش: كذا بالأصل هنا. وسيأتي في مادة «دع»  
(٩، ٤٣٧) «تأية». ولعله «نيئة» بنون أوله أي «أرض غير مرتقعة» انتهى. أقول وذكره صاحب اللسان  
في موضعين آخرين. وفي كليهما «تأية». الأول في مادة «قن» (١٧، ٢٢٧) والثاني في مادة «نابى»  
(١٨، ٦٧). وكذا ضبطه في الصحاح (٢، ٤٤٤) وقال «ليس منزلكم منزل تأية» أي منزل تلبث وتحبس.  
فلا حاجة إلى ما تكلف به مصحح اللسان.
- ١٢ - زيادة عن م و مصا.

للأعشى ميمون: (ولم يُودَ من كنتَ تسعى به)<sup>٢</sup>

كما قيل في الحرب «أودى درم»

وأصل هذا المثل أن درم بن دُبَّ بن ذهل بن شيان، ويقال درم بن دب، من بني أسعد بن همام، بن مرة بن ذهل بن شيان، كان قتل فلم يُودَ ولم يُيأ به، فقال قائل «أودى درم»<sup>٣</sup> فصار<sup>٤</sup> مثلاً لمن<sup>٥</sup> لم يدرك به<sup>٦</sup>. و«اليام»<sup>٧</sup> أن يأخذ الابل شيئاً شبيه بالحُمى من شهوة الماء، فتشرب و<sup>٨</sup> لا تروى. فاذا أصابها ذلك فُصد لها عرق، لينخف الداء عنها ويبرد. قال الأعشى (بن ميمون):<sup>٩</sup>

..... ولم يق \* طع عبيد عروقه من خمال

(٢٠) ١٢ تَخَذُ الْفَيَافِي<sup>١٣</sup> بِالرَّحَالِ، وَكَلَّهَا \* يَعْدُو<sup>١٤</sup> بِمَنْخَرِقِ الْقَمِيصِ سَمِيدَع

١ - زيادة اسم الشاعر عن مصا. وقال في اللسان (١٥، ٨٩) في معنى المصراع الأول: «إنه لم يهلك من سميت له».

٢ - زيادة من ر. وفي ديوان الأعشى (٣١، طبع بيانه ١٩٢٧ ع) وحاشية الأمثال للميداني: «تسعى له». وفي الديوان «الحى» بدل «الحرب».

٣ - في م و مب و مصا «دب بن مرة بن ذهل». وأظن أن الزيادة من سهو الكاتب.

٤ - قوله «من بني أسعد بن همام» سقط من م.

٥ - قال في اللسان (١٥، ٨٩): قال أبو عمرو «وهو درم بن دب بن ذهل بن شيان». وقال المورج: «فقد كما فقد القارظ العنزى فصار مثلاً لكل من فقد». وقال ابن برى، قال حبيب: «كان درم هذا هرب من النعمان فطلبه فأخذ، فمات في أيديهم قبل أن يصلوا به فقال قائل «أودى درم». فصارت مثلاً. وليراجع جبهة الأمثال للسكري (٤٤، طبع بمبني) وأمثال الميداني (٢، ٢٧٢).

٦ - في ر و مصب «فصارت».

٧ - في ر و مب و مصا «لا». وفي مصب «لا لا يدرك به».

٨ - قوله «به» سقط من م و مب.

٩ - بهامش مصا «يقال منه هيامة».

١٠ - في م و مب و مصا «ثم».

١١ - زيادة عن مصا. وأول البيت على ما في الديوان (٦، طبع مذكور) واللسان (١٣، ٢٣٥) وهامش مصا: لم تعطف على حوار ولم يق \* طع عبيد عروقه من خمال. قال أبو العباس ثعلب في شرحه: لم يكن لها ابن فتعطف على حوار فترضعه. وهذا صلب لها. وقال في اللسان بعد نقل هذا الشرح بلفظه:

«وعبيد، عطار». والمصراع سقط من م و مب سوى «من خمال». وبهامش مصا «عبيد: اسم يطار».

١٢ - زيادة البيت وشرحه عن م. ونقل أيضاً بهامش مصا بدون الشرح زيادة قوله: «بعده زيادة». وهنا وفي المفضليات «تجد».

١٣ - في م «العوافي». والتصحيح من مصا والمفضليات. و«الفيافي» القفار.

١٤ - في م «يعدو». والتصحيح من مصا والمفضليات.



(٢٥) متبَطِّحين على الكنيف كأنهم \* يكون حول جنازة لم تَرْفَع<sup>١</sup>

(٢٦) ومُعَرَّض تغلى المراحلُ تحته \* عَجَلْتُ طَبِيخَتَه لرهط<sup>٢</sup> جُوع

«المعرض» اللحم الذى لم يبلغ نضج<sup>٣</sup>.

(٢٧) ولدى أشعث باذل<sup>٤</sup> ليمينه \* قسماً لقد انضجت، لم يتورّع

يقول: أشعث من الفتيان يسدل يمينه لجوعه<sup>٥</sup>، أى يحلف. وه لم يتورّع، لم

يكفه الورع عن اليمين<sup>٦</sup> ومضى عليها<sup>٧</sup>.

(٢٨) ومُسَهَّدِين من الكلال، بعثتهم \* بعد الرقاد إلى سواهم ظَلَع

«المسهّد» الممنوع من النوم. يقول<sup>٨</sup>. جاءوا كاللّين فلم أَدْعهم أن يناموا عنه؛

(بل)<sup>٩</sup> بعثتهم إلى سواهم ظلع. و«الساهم» الضامر. وه الظلع «التي تشتكى أيديها

وأرجلها (من التعب)<sup>١١</sup>.

(٢٩) أودى السِّفَار بِرَمِيها، فتخالها \* هَيْمًا مُقَطَّعةً جبالَ الأذرع

«الرم» الشحم. و«أودى به السفار» ذهب به. يقال «ثوب قد أودى» أى

قد تهيأ<sup>١٢</sup> للذهاب. ومثلاً من الأمثال للشيء إذا ذهب: «أودى دَرَم». وأنشد

١ - زيادة البيت عن المفضليات وهامش مصا وفيه زيادة قوله «زيادة» فى أوله.

٢ - فى ر «برهط».

٣ - وهامش مصا ما نصه: ح. المعرض الذى لم يبلغ فى إنضاجه، فاضطرب فى أخذ النار منه. من مقولهم: أعرض الولدان إذا اضطرعوا، فلم يسكنوا. ومنه «برق عراض» كثير اللعمان. ومنه «عرضة الدار» لأن الصبيان يعرضون فيها أى يضطرعون. ومنه «رمح عراض» أى مضطرب.

٤ - فى المفضليات «باسط».

٥ - سقط من ر «لجوعه».

٦ - فى م «لم يكف عن اليمين». وفى مصب «لم يكفه عن اليمين ورع».

٧ - هنا زيادة فى م. ونصها «باسط ليمينه» أى «بازل للحلف».

٨ - فى ر وم «يقال».

٩ - فى م ومب و مصا «ينامون».

١٠ - زيادة عن مصب.

١١ - زيادة عن م.

١٢ - فى م «تهيأ».

« بسيل »<sup>١</sup> أى بطريق<sup>٢</sup>. يقول: لا يسرحون فيه إيلهم<sup>٣</sup> من الخوف لقرهم من العدو. و« السقم » المخوف. و« يشار لقائه » أى يقال: هذا أخبت بقعة في الأرض<sup>٤</sup>.

(٢٢) فُسَمَّى<sup>٥</sup> ما يدريك أن رُبَّ<sup>٦</sup> فُشِيَّةٍ \* باكرت<sup>٧</sup> لذتهم بأدكن<sup>٨</sup> مُتَرَعٍ<sup>٩</sup>  
« أدكن مترع » زق مملوء<sup>٩</sup>.

(٢٣) مُخَمَّرَةٌ عَقَبَ الصُّبُوحِ<sup>١٠</sup> عِيُونُهُمْ \* بَمَرَى هُنَاكَ مِنَ الْحَيَاةِ وَمَسَمَعِ  
« عقب الصبوح » أى بعد الصبوح. قال: والأصل « بمرأى » ولكنه ترك الهمز. يقول: بمنظر من الحياة (حسن)<sup>١١</sup> ومسمع حسن<sup>١٢</sup>.

(٢٤) بَكُرُوا عَلَيَّ بِسُحْرَةٍ<sup>١٣</sup> فَصَبَحْتُهُمْ \* مِنْ عَاتِقِ كَدَمِ الذَّبِيحِ<sup>١٤</sup> مُشْعَشِعِ  
« عاتق » خمرة<sup>١٥</sup> عتيقه. « كدم الذبيح » يقول: كأنها دم دابة ذبيح<sup>١٦</sup>، فدمه طرى. و« المشعشع » المُرَقِّقُ بالماء.

- 
- ١ - راجع الحاشية على الصفحة السابقة تحت رقم ١٠.
  - ٢ - فى مصا « طريق ».
  - ٣ - سقط من مصا « إيلهم ».
  - ٤ - هنا زيادة فى م. ونصها: « إذا نصب «لقائه»، كان معناه تلقائه. أى يقال هذا أخبت موضع ».
  - ٥ - فى المفضليات والأغانى (٣، ٧٩): « اسمى ».
  - ٦ - فى ر « رب » بالتشديد. وفى الأغانى « كم من » بدل « أن رب ». وفى نقد الشعر (٨): « ويحك هل علمت » بدل « ما يدريك أن رب ».
  - ٧ - فى نقد الشعر (٨): « غاديت ».
  - ٨ - فى ر « مترع ». وفى مجمع البيان للطبرسى (٢، ٢٤) كما فى المتن.
  - ٩ - هذا التفسير سقط من ر و م و مصب.
  - ١٠ - فى مصب « الصباح » فى المتن. وفى التفسير « الصبح ».
  - ١١ - زيادة عن ر و مصب.
  - ١٢ - فى م « حسر » بعلامة الشك بعده. وفيها زيادة: « ويروى «فهم يمرءا فى الحياة، أى يرون ما يشتهون».
  - ١٣ - أى السحر.
  - ١٤ - فى المفضليات « الغزال ».
  - ١٥ - فى م و مصا « خمر ».
  - ١٦ - فى مصب « ذبيح ».

يقال محبسها أدنى لمرتعتها  
ولو تعادى بيبك كل محلوب<sup>١</sup>

يقول: نجسها في دار الحفاظ ليهابنا عدونا. فهو أدنى لأن<sup>٢</sup> ترتع حيث شادت.  
و «تعادى» توالى. و «البيك» قلة اللبن. فيقول: نحن نقيم وإن صارت إباننا  
(كلها)<sup>٣</sup> بكيمته<sup>٤</sup>. ومثله قول عمرو بن كلثوم:

ونحن الحابسون بذى أراطى  
تسفت الجيلة الخور الدرينا

ومثله<sup>٥</sup>: نقيم<sup>٦</sup> على دار الحفاظ بيوتنا<sup>٧</sup>  
فهم خير إيسار وخير فوارس

(١٩) (ومحل مجد لا يسرح أهله \* يوم الإقامة والحلول بمترع)<sup>٨</sup>

(٢٠) بسيل ثغر<sup>٩</sup> لا يسرح أهله \* سقيم يشار لقائه بالإصبع

١ - في م «نجسها». وفي الصحاح (٤، ١) «نقضى» بدل «تعادى». وفي اللسان (٢٦، ١) كذا:

«وشد كور على وجناء ناجية \* وشد سرج على جرداء مرحوب

يقال محبسها أدنى لمرتعتها \* ولو نقضى بيبك كل محلوب

أراد بقوله «محبسها» أى محبس هذه الابل والحيل على الجذب ومقابلة العدو على الثغر أدنى وأقرب من أن  
ترتع وتخصب ويضيق الثغر فى إرسالها لترعى وتخصب. وفيه فى مادة «عدا»: «وقول سلامة بن جندل:  
«يكون محبسها أدنى لمرتعتها \* ولو تعادى بيبك كل محلوب» معناه لو ذهب ألبانها كلها». (١٩، ٣٦٩).

٢ - فى ر ومصب «لا ترتع».

٣ - سقط من م ومصا ومصب.

٤ - فى م «بكشية». وهو غلط.

٥ - البيت من قصيدته المدودة فى السبع المعلقة. قال الزوزنى فى شرح هذا البيت: «ونحن حبسنا أموالنا  
بهذا الموضع حتى سفت النوق الغزار قديم النبت وأسوده لاعانة قومنا ومساعدتهم على قتال عدوهم».  
- (شرح المعلقة للزوزنى: ١٠٨، طبع مصر ١٢٨٨ هـ).

٦ - سقط من م.

٧ - فى م ومصب «نقيم».

٨ - فى مصا «بيوتهم».

٩ - زيادة البيت عن المفضليات (١٠، ١).

١٠ - فى ر «بسيل» فى الموضعين. وهو مجرى الماء فى الوادى. وقيل وسط الوادى حيث يسيل معظم الماء.  
- (اللسان: ١٣، ٣٦٢). وفى كتاب الأزمعة للمرزوقى (٢، ١٣٠): «بسيل ثغر».



« بآمن مالنا » (أى) <sup>١</sup> بقوى مالنا وأوثقه فى نفوسنا . وه الإجرار ، أن يطعن  
(الرجل) <sup>٢</sup> ويدع الرح فيه . وه ندعى ، نقول : يا ل فلان ! <sup>٣</sup>

(١٨) ونخوض غمرة كل يوم كرهية \* تُردى النفوس ، وغنمها للأشجع  
« تردى » تهلك . يقول : (هى) <sup>٤</sup> ذات ردى . وه غنمها للأشجع ، يقول : الغنيمة  
(فيها) <sup>٥</sup> لأهل الشجاعة والبأس . أى الذى <sup>٦</sup> هو أقوى (وأشجع) <sup>٧</sup> .

(١٩) ونقيم فى دار الحِفاظ بيوتنا \* زَمْنَا ، وَيَطْعُنْ غَيْرُنَا للأمرع <sup>٨</sup>  
« دار الحِفاظ » (الدار) <sup>٩</sup> التى لا يقيم بها إلا من حافظ على حَسَبه . وذلك أنه  
لا يحافظ على حَسَبه إلا الشريف . وه الأمرع ، السنة <sup>١٠</sup> الحَصِبة . ومثله قول  
سلامة بن جندل <sup>١١</sup> :

- 
- ١ - زيادة عن م .
  - ٢ - زيادة عن مصب .
  - ٣ - فى م « يقول » . وفيها أيضاً زيادة وهى « ندعى » ، يقول الطاعن أنا فلان الفلانى وأنبئت للشهاد حرة ادعى حرة أى وقت . ولم أنهم معناها .
  - ٤ - سقط من م و مصا و مصب .
  - ٥ - زيادة عن مصب .
  - ٦ - فى م « للذى » . وفى مصا « أى للذى » .
  - ٧ - قال المرزوقى (كتاب الأزمنة والامكنة : ٢ ، ١٣٠) « فائما تبجج بحسن صبره فى دار المحافظة على العز والمنع عن الحریم إلا أنه عد الظعن عيباً . يدل على ذلك قوله من بعد : بسبيل ثغر آه » .
  - ٨ - زيادة عن مصا و مصب .
  - ٩ - فى مصا « الأرض » .
  - ١٠ - سقط من مصا « سلامة بن جندل » . وهو من بنى عامر بن عبيد بن الحرث بن زيد مناة بن تميم . جاهلى قديم . وهو من فرسان تميم المعدودين وأخوه أحمز بن جندل من الشعراء والفرسان . وكان عمرو بن كلثوم أغار على حى من بنى سعد بن زيد مناة ، فأصاب فيهم . وكان فى من أصاب الأحمر بن جندل . وكان سلامة أحد نعات الخيل . وأجود شعره قصيدته التى أولها :

« أودى الشباب حميداً ذو التعاجيب \* أودى وذلك شاذ غير مطلوب  
أودى الشباب الذى مجد عواقبه \* فيه نلذ ولا لذات للشيب  
ولى حثيثاً ، وهذا الشيب يطلبه \* لو كان يدركه ركض اليعاقب ،

— (من الشعر والشعراء لابن قتيبة : ٥٠ ، طبع مصر ١٣٢٢ هـ ، وخزانة الأدب : ٢ ، ٨٦) . أقول والشعر المذكور فى الشرح من هذه القصيدة .

- من الأُبُلَّة. فقال<sup>١</sup> أعرابي «فعلام تُضرب أ كبادُ الابل إلى بيت الله العتيق؟»<sup>٢</sup>
- (١٤) «لعب السيولُ به، فأصبح مأثمه \* غَلَلًا تَقَطَّع<sup>٣</sup> في أصول الخِرْوَع  
«لعب السيول» أى جاءت من كل وجه كأنهن يلعبن. و«الغلل» الماء يجرى  
في أصول الشجر. و«الغيل» الماء يجرى على وجه الأرض<sup>٤</sup>. و«الغيل» الشجر  
الملتف. و«الخروع» الثبت الناعم.
- (١٥) فُسِّمَتِي! وَيَحْك! هل سمعتِ بَعْدَرَةَ \* رُفِع اللوؤُ بها لنا<sup>٥</sup> في بجمَع  
قال: يقال «لكل غادر لوؤ»، فيقول: هل كان منا ما يُرْفَع للناس ويُشهر<sup>٦</sup>؟
- (١٦) إِنَّا نَعْفُ فلا نَرِيبُ حَلِيفِنَا \* وَنَكْثُ شَحْ نفوسنا في المَطْمَع  
قوله «فلا نريب حليفنا» يقول<sup>٧</sup>: لا نأتيه بأمر يريبه<sup>٨</sup>.
- (١٧) وَنَقَى بَأْمَن<sup>٩</sup> مالنا أحسابنا \* وَنَجَرْنَا<sup>١٠</sup> في الهَيْجَا الرِّمَاحَ وَنَدَّعَى

- ١ - في م ومب ومصا «قال فقال».
- ٢ - هنا زيادة في م. ونصها: وظلم السيل الأرض خدد فيها غير موضع الأخاديد. وأصل الظلم وضع الشيء في غير موضعه. ومنه «سقاء مظلوم»، إذا شرب في غير وقت بلوغه. و«الحريصة» سخابة مستدقة تقشر وجه الأرض. ومنه «حرص القصار الثوب». و«الحارصة» الشجة تقشر الجلد. وكل ماء مجتمع نقطة. ولا يكون إلا قليلا.
- ٣ - وفي اللسان (١٤، ١٥) «يقطع» من باب التفعيل.
- ٤ - في الأصول كلها سوى مصب «جاء». وهو غلط.
- ٥ - سقط تفسير الغيل بالفتح من م ومب ومصا.
- ٦ - وفي المفضليات (١٠، ١) والحماسة للبحترى (١٤١) «اسمى».
- ٧ - في المفضليات والحماسة «لنا بها».
- ٨ - هنا زيادة في م. ونصها «كان الرجل إذا غدر في الجاهلية رفع له لوأ أيام الموسم ليجنبه الناس».
- ٩ - في الحماسة للبحترى (١٤١): «أم هل ير فإيراع حليفنا». ونقل المصحح عن هامش أصل المطبوعة: «إنا نعف ولا نريب حليفنا».
- ١٠ - في م «أى» بدل «يقول».
- ١١ - هنا زيادة في م. ونصها «رأبى فلان ريباً، إذا تيقنت منه الريبة. وأرأبى إذا كنت شاكاً في ريبته».
- ١٢ - من هذا البيت إلى قوله «الصباح» في تفسير البيت الذى أوله «بحمرة» سقط من م. وأصله «لأجل ضياع ورقة».
- ١٣ - في اللسان (١٩٨، ٥) والصحاح (٢٩٦، ١) ونسخة مصب بالهامش «بصالح مالنا». وفي خزانة (٣٨٨، ٢) والمفضليات (١١) «بأفضل مالنا». وفي اللسان (١٦، ١٦٦) كما في المتن. وقال: «أى ونقى بخالص مالنا. ندعى، ندعو بأسمائنا شعاراً لنا في الحرب».
- ١٤ - في التريين للهروى (٢٦٢ ألف) «ونمر».

لُسُجْرَةٍ وَإِنَّهُ لَا سَجَرَ . وقال السلولى<sup>١</sup> :

عَدْتُ كَالْقَطْرَةِ السَّجَرَاءِ رَاحَتِ

أَمَامَ مُزْمِرٍ لَيَجِبِ نَفَاها

(١٣) ظَلَمَ الْبَطَاحَ بِهِ<sup>٢</sup> انْهَالُ حَرِيصَةٍ \* فَصَفَا<sup>٣</sup> النَّطَافَ لَهُ<sup>٤</sup> بُعِيدَ الْمُقْلَعِ<sup>٥</sup>

« ظلم ، جاء فى غير وقته . يقال « أرض مظلومة » إذا أصابها المطر فى غير وقته . و « البطاح » بطون الأودية . و « انهالها » سيلها . يقال « انهلت السماء » إذا<sup>٦</sup> سالت . و « الحريصة » السحابة تقع فى الأرض شديدة الوقع ، فتقشر<sup>٧</sup> وجه الأرض . « فصفا النطاف » أى صفا ماء النطاف ، أى<sup>٨</sup> ماء هذه السحابة بعد أن اقلعت . و « النطفة » الماء . يقال « أرض بنى فلان أعذب (أرض الله)<sup>٩</sup> نطفة » . وقيل<sup>١٠</sup> : « ما خلق الله أعذب نطفة ولا أقرب مسافة ولا أذل مطية » .

١ - وهامش مصا بخط كاتب المتن « العجير » . وهو اسم أبى الفرزدق السلولى . وهو شاعر مقل اسلامى من شعراء الدولة الأموية . وجعله محمد بن سلام فى طبقة أبى زيد الطائى . وهى الخامسة من طبقات شعراء الاسلام . قد ذكره الأصمهانى فى كتابه فى مواضع . فليراجع لترجمته ( ١١ ، ١٤٦ ) ، وخزانة الأدب : ٢ ، ٢٩٨ و ٣٩٩ ، والمؤلف والمختلف للآمدى ص ١٦٦ .

٢ - فى ر و لها ، وفى المفضليات وكتاب الأزمئة للمرزوقى ( ٢ ، ٢٩ ) واللسان ( ٨ ، ٢٧٦ ) و مصب : « له » . وفى اللسان ( ١٥ ، ٢٦٩ ) « بها » .

٣ - فى المفضليات وكتاب الأزمئة « وصفا » .

٤ - فى ر و مصب « بها » .

٥ - فى اللسان ( ٨ ، ٢٧٦ ) « بعيد » بفتح الباء وكسر العين . وفيه ( ١٥ ، ٢٦٩ ) « بعيد » بضم الباء وفتح العين .

٦ - فى م « المقلع » بفتح الميم واللام . وفى اللسان والمفضليات ومصا و مصب « المقلع » بضم الميم وفتح اللام . وهو الصواب . قال صاحب اللسان ( ١٠ ، ١٦٦ ) « اقلع الشيء انجلى ، و اقلع السحاب كذلك » . وقال

( ١٥ ، ٢٦٩ ) « المقلع مصدر بمعنى الاقلاع ، مفعول بمعنى الافعال . وهو كثير » . وقد نسب الطبرى فى التفسير ( ٢ ، ٤٩ ) إلى عمرو بن قنعة . وهو منفرد بهذا .

٧ - فى م و مصا « أى » بدل « إذا » .

٨ - فى م « فيقشر » .

٩ - سقط من ر و مصب : « ماء النطاف أى » .

١٠ - سقط من ر .

١١ - فى م و مب و مصا : « قال خالد بن صفوان ما رأينا أرضاً » إلخ . وفى مصب « وقيل لا أعذب نطفة » .



ويروى «كنتص»<sup>١</sup>. «تصدفت» أعرضت. و«استبتك» غلبت<sup>٢</sup> على عقلك  
(حتى)<sup>٣</sup> صرت كأنك سبني في يدها. (و«الواضح» الناصع)<sup>٤</sup> و«الصلت»  
الأجرد الأملس.<sup>٥</sup> و«الأتلع» الطويل الغنق من كل شيء.

(١٠) وبُقيتني حوراء تحسب طرفها \* ونسنان حرة مستهل الأدمع<sup>٦</sup>

«ونسنان» يقول كان فيه سنة<sup>٧</sup>. و«السنة»<sup>٨</sup> الثعاس<sup>٩</sup>.

(١١) وإذا تنازعك الحديث رأيته \* حسناً تبسمها لذيق المكرع<sup>١٠</sup>

«لذيق المكرع»<sup>١١</sup> يقول مُقبلها طيب كما يطيب المكرع في الماء.

(١٢) كغريض<sup>١٢</sup> سارية أدركته الصبا \* من ماء أسجر طيب المستقع<sup>١٣</sup>

«الغريض» الماء الطرى من سارية سرت. ويقال «أدركته واستدركته ودرت»  
الناقة تدرك<sup>١٤</sup>. و«أسجر» ماء لم يصف. يقال لماء السماء قبل أن يصفو: «إن فيه

١ - كذا في الأغاني. وفي م.

٢ - في م ومب ومصا «غلبتك على عقلك».

٣ - زيادة عن م.

٤ - هنا زيادة في م. ونصها «والصلت» الظاهر المشرق. الأصمعي المنحسر من اللحم الأملس. و«منتصب»  
الغزال، عنقه.

٥ - في نقد الشعر «الدمع».

٦ - وفي م «وهي» بدل «السنة».

٧ - وهنا أيضاً زيادة في م. ونصها «وحرة عتيقة كريمة». أي هي كريمة مجرى الدمع، و«مستهل الأدمع»  
حيث تستهل. والاستهلال الجريان. وقيل أصله الصوت. ومنه استهل الصبي إذا بكى عند الولادة.

٨ - وفي اللسان (٥، ٣٦٦): فكان فاهها بعد أول رقدة ثغب براية لذيق المكرع. وقال: «الثغب» الغدير في  
ظل جبل لا تصيه الشمس فهو أبرد له. وفي نقد الشعر (٨) كما في المتن.

٩ - زيادة عن ر ومصب.

١٠ - في المفضليات (١، ١٠)، والصحاح (١، ٣١٩، ٣٢٩ و ٥٣٣)، واللسان (٥، ٣٦٦ و ١٠، ١٠٦ و ٩، ٥٩): «بغريض». وبهامش مصا «المفضل: بغريض». ونسب الجوهري هذا البيت إلى متم بن  
نورية في ص ٣٢٩ من الصحاح.

١١ - في نقد الشعر (٨): «كغريض سارية تنفحه الصبا \* بنزيل أسجر طيب المستقع».

١٢ - قوله «تدر» سقط من م.

(٣)

وقال الحادرة أيضاً:

قال عبد الرحمن<sup>٢</sup>، قال أبو سعيد عمي، سمعت شيخاً من بني كنانة من أهل المدينة، قال كان حسان بن ثابت (رضي الله تعالى عنه)<sup>٣</sup>، إذا قيل<sup>٤</sup> تُنْوِشِد الشعر، قال «هل أنشدت كلمة الحويدرة؟» قال أبو سعيد: «يعني هذه». وهي (في)<sup>٥</sup> اختيار المفضل والأصمعي.

(٧) الكامل بكرت سُمِيَهُ غُدُوَّةً فَتَمَتَّعَ<sup>٦</sup> \* وغدت غُدُوَّ مُفَارِقٍ لَمْ يَرْجِعْ<sup>٧</sup> و يروى<sup>٨</sup> «بكرة». «فتمتع» أي فأدركها فتمتع منها بسلام أو بحديث.

(٨) وتزوَّدت عيني غداة لقيتها \* بلوى عُنِيْزَةً نَظَرَةً لَمْ تَنْقَعْ و يروى «لم تُتْقَلَع»<sup>٩</sup>. و يروى «بلوى البُنْيَنَةِ»<sup>١٠</sup>. و «اللوى» منقطع الرمل. و «البنيّة» موضع<sup>١١</sup>.

(٩) وَتَصَدَّفَتْ حَتَّى اسْتَبْتِكَ بَوَاضِحٍ<sup>١٢</sup> \* صَلَّيْتُ كَمُتَقَصَّبِ الْغَزَالِ الْأَتْلَعِ<sup>١٣</sup>

١ - قوله «أيضاً» سقط من مصا. وسقط من ر من قوله «أيضاً» إلى قوله «الأصمعي». وليراجع الأغاني (٧٩، ٣) أيضاً للقصة المذكورة في المتن.

٢ - سقط من مصب.

٣ - زيادة عن مصب.

٤ - سقط من م.

٥ - في هامش مصا «ابن السكيت: «صرمت».

٦ - في مصا تحت قوله «غدوة»، «وجهة».

٧ - في الأغاني (٧٩، ٣) «فتمتعى». وقال: يخاطب نفسه أي تمتع منها قبل فراقها.

٨ - في المفضليات (١٠، ١) والأغاني ومصب «لم يرجع». وبهامش مصا «المفضل: ويرجع، أي لم يكف».

٩ - في ر «روى». والرواية تطابق ما في المفضليات.

١٠ - كذا في رواية المفضليات.

١١ - كذا في المفضليات ونسخة بهامش مصب.

١٢ - تفسير هذا البيت سقط من الأصول كلها سوى مصا.

١٣ - في الأغاني (٧٩، ٣). «وتعرضت لك فاستبتك بواضح». وقال بالهامش: «وروى ابن الأنباري: وتصدفت إلخ». أي كما في رواية اليزيدي.

١٤ - في نقد الشعر (٨) كما في المتن.

و «مباشيم» من البَشَم<sup>١</sup>. و «العارضة» أن تذبح الشاة أو<sup>٢</sup> الناقة من ظُلْع أو كسر  
أو علة<sup>٣</sup> لا تذبح سليمةً بل<sup>٤</sup> يعرض لها عارض فتذبح لذلك.

(٥) مفاريط لئلا الظنون بسُحرة \* تغاديك قبل الصبح عانثهم تجرى  
«الظنون» من<sup>٥</sup> الماء الذي لا يوثق ببقائه. و «الظنون» من الرجال الذي لا يوثق  
بما عنده. و «الظنين» المتهم. و «الظنين» البخيل<sup>٦</sup>. و «تغاديك قبل الصبح  
عانثهم (تجري)»<sup>٧</sup> أى حرهم. أى يغدون<sup>٨</sup> إلى ذلك<sup>٩</sup> الماء يستقون منه لابلهم<sup>١٠</sup>.  
و «المفاريط» المتقدمون.

(٦) يزجون أسدام المياه باينقي \* مثالب مسود، مغابنها أدر  
«يزجون» يسوقون. و «الأسدام» المياه المتغيرة. واحدها سُدم. و «المثالب»  
المسائ (من الابل)<sup>١١</sup>. واحدها ثلَبٌ. والذكر فيه والآثى بلا<sup>١٢</sup> هاء. و «المغابن»  
أصول الأنفاذ والآباط. (و «أدر» من الأدرة)<sup>١٣</sup>. و «الأدر» والقليط<sup>١٤</sup> بمعنى  
واحد.

- 
- ١ - يقال «بشم الفصيل من اللبن والرجل من الطعام» إذا اتخم. ومن الجاز «بشم من كذا» إذا سئم منه.  
— (أساس البلاغة: ١، ٣٣).
  - ٢ - في روم «و» بدل «أو».
  - ٣ - سقط من مصب «أو علة».
  - ٤ - قوله «بل» زيد عن ر.
  - ٥ - «من» سقط من مصا.
  - ٦ - في الأصول كلها «الظنين». والتصحيح من مصب. قال في اللسان (١٧: ١٤٥): «الظنين قليل الخير».
  - ٧ - «ما بين العكفين» زيد عن م.
  - ٨ - في م «أى حرهم يغدون» وفي مصا «يعدون».
  - ٩ - في م «وذلك».
  - ١٠ - في مصب «يستقون منه لابلهم».
  - ١١ - زيادة عن مصب.
  - ١٢ - في م «بغير».
  - ١٣ - زيادة عن مصا و مصب.
  - ١٤ - في م «ومصا ومصب» والقليط. وسقط من مصب «بمعنى».



خنعة، (أى فى أمر قبيح)<sup>١</sup>.

(٢) كأنك فقّاحة نورّت \* مع الصبح فى طَرْفِ الحائر<sup>٢</sup>  
« الفقّاحة، الزهرة من زهر البقل على أى لون كانت. و«نورت»، ظهرًا نورها.  
و«الزهرة»، البياض. يقال «فلان أزهرٌ» بَيْن الزهرة. وامرأة «زهراء». و«الزهرة»، النجم الذى فى السماء. و«الزاهر»، المتوقد. يقال «ظلّ» سراجُه  
يُزهر حتى أصبح. و«المُزهرُ»، البربط. و«الحائر»، مكان يرتفع ما حوله  
ويطمئن وسطه، فيتحيّر فيه الماء.

(٢)

وقال الحادبة (أيضاً)<sup>٣</sup>، يهجو زَبان بن سيار الفزارى<sup>٤</sup>:

(٣) الطويل لعَمْرُكُ! لا أهجو مَنوَلَةً كلّها \* ولكنّا أهجو الشرار<sup>٥</sup> بنى عمرو  
(٤) مشاتيم لابن العَمِّ فى غير كُنْهه \* مباشيم عن لحم العوارض والتمر<sup>٦</sup>  
«فى غير كُنْهه»، أى قدره<sup>٧</sup>. يقال: «ما بلغت كُنْهَ هذا الأمر، أى قدره. فيقول  
من غير أن يكون الأمر بلغ أن يصنع فيه هذا كله. وقال (النابعة)<sup>٨</sup> الذى يانى:  
«وعيدُ أبى قابوس فى غير كُنْهه»

١ - زيادة عن م.

٢ - هذا البيت نسب إلى عاصم بن منظور فى اللسان: ٣، ٣٨٠.

٣ - فى ر «ظاهرت».

٤ - فى م «أزهر اللون».

٥ - فى مصب «بات».

٦ - ما بين العكفين سقط من م و م و مصب.

٧ - قوله «يهجو الخ» سقط من ر. ومن مصا و مصب سقط «الفزارى».

٨ - فى مصا «الليام».

٩ - فى ر وأصل م «الثر». وهو تصحيف.

١٠ - فى م «فى غير قدره».

١١ - ما بين العكفين زيد عن م. وتمام البيت: «أتانى ودونى راكس والضواجع». قال الشارح «فى غير كُنْهه»، قال أبو عمرو: فى غير قدرته. وقال أبو عبيدة: فى غير موضعه ولا استحقاقه. و«راكس»، واد. والضواجع جمع ضاجة. وهى منخى الوادى. — (مجموعة خمسة دواوين: طبع مصر سنة ١٢٩٢هـ، ص ٥١).

«حادرة المنكبين» أى ضخمة المنكبين<sup>١</sup>. يقال «رجل حادر المنكبين». وكل ضخم «حادر». و«وَتَرَّ حادر» إذا كان غليظاً<sup>٢</sup>. ويقال «بجسده<sup>٣</sup> حادر» أى آثار (به)<sup>٤</sup>. ويقال «حَدَرَ أثر السوط» أى غلظ<sup>٥</sup> واستبان. و«ريح حادر». و«الرَّصَع» والرَّسَحُ والزَّلْزَلُ واحد. و«تنقض» تَنِقُّ. يقال «انقضت الضفدع تُنْقِضُ انقاضاً، وانقضت العقاب» إذا صوتت «تنقض انقاضاً، وانقضت» إذا انحدرت «تَنْقِضُ انقضاءً». (وأُنشد عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن قريب)<sup>٦</sup>:

قطعن ما بين الحى والجولان

تنقض أيديها نقيض العقبان

عجوزُ ضفادعٍ<sup>٧</sup> محجوبة<sup>٨</sup> \* تطوف<sup>٩</sup> بها ولدة<sup>١٠</sup> الحاضر

(«عجوز ضفادع» أى مُسْتَهَنَّة. أى يطوف بها الصبيان ينظرون إليها<sup>١١</sup>. فاجابه الحادرة. فقال:

﴿١﴾ المقارب لحا الله زبَّان من شاعر<sup>١٢</sup> \* أخى خَنَعَة غادر فاجر<sup>١٣</sup>

«الخنعة» الوقوع فى الأمر (القيح)<sup>١٤</sup> الذى يستحي منه. ويقال «وقع فلان فى

١ - قال فى اللسان (٥، ٢٤٧) «يفنى ضفدعة مثلة المنكبين». وقال فيه أيضاً (٥، ٣٦٦) «قال ابن برى: شبهه

بضفدعة تنقض فى حائر. وانقاضها صوتها».

٢ - فى م بالطاء المعجمة. وهو تصحيف. ليراجع اللسان: ٥، ٢٤٥.

٣ - فى ر ومصا «بجسده». وهو تصحيف.

٤ - زيادة عن م.

٥ - فى ر «الرسح». وهو غلظ. و«الرسح» بالحاء قلة لحم العجز والفخذين. و«الرصعاء» الرصحاء المسوحة العجيذة والساق. (اللسان: ٥، ٣٦٦).

٦ - فى م وب ومصا ومصب «أُنشد» فقط. وسقط من ر.

٧ - فى م «الضفادع».

٨ - فى ر وب وب ومصب «يطوف». وفى هامش مصب وفى الأغاني «يطيف».

٩ - فى مصب «صبية». وبهامشها نسخة «غلة».

١٠ - زيادة عن مصب.

١١ - قوله «لحا الله» قال فى اللسان (٢٠، ١٠٨) «أى قبحه ولعنه».

١٢ - فى الأغاني «فاجر غادر».

١٣ - زيادة عن ر وب ومصب.

بِسْمِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

( ١ )

( حدثنا أبو القاسم عمر بن محمد بن سيف في شهر رمضان سنة خمس وستين وثلاثمائة . قال حدثنا أبو عبد الله محمد بن العباس بن محمد بن أبي محمد يحيى بن المبارك اليزيدي إملاءً من لفظه في شهر ربيع الآخر سنة ست وثلاثمائة قال : قرأت على عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن قريب بن أخى الأصمعى ، قال : قرأت على عمى الأصمعى ) ، قال : الحادرة

واسمه مُقْطَبَةٌ بن أوس<sup>٢</sup> بن محصن بن جَرْوَل بن حبيب بن عبد العزى بن خزيمه بن رزام بن مازن بن ثعلبة بن سعد<sup>٣</sup> بن ذبيان . وإنما سُمي الحادرة لقول زَبان بن سَيَّار الفزارى<sup>٤</sup> (له)° :

كَأَنَّكَ حَادِرَةٌ الْمُنْكِيَّةُ \* مِنْ رَضْعَاءِ مُتَنَقِّضٍ فِي حَائِرِ

١ - هذا لفظ مصب . وفي م و مصا « قال أبو عبد الله محمد بن العباس اليزيدي قرأت ، الخ . بسقوط أول الاسناد وأيضاً بسقوط « قال قرأت على عمى الأصمعى » .

٢ - في ر و مصب « أوس بن أوس بن محصن » . أقول : وقال ابن الأنباري نقلاً عن أحمد بن عبيد « وقد قيل ان اسمه قطبة بن قيس بن الأعظم . واسم الأعظم حبيب بن عبد العزى . ولم يذكر باقى النسب » . (هامش الأغاني ٣ ، ٧٩) .

٣ - سقط من مصب « سعد » .

٤ - وكتب بهامش مصا « نسخة . خرج زبान والحادرة بصطادان . فصادا ، فجعلوا يصهبان ، وجعل زبانا يشوى ويأكل ، وهما في الليل فقال الحادرة :

تركت رفيق جارك قد تراه \* وأنت لفيك في الظلماء هاد  
فقد عليه زبانا . ثم إنها أتيا غديراً . فتجرد الحادرة . وكان له منكبين ضمير ، فقال زبانا . « والقصة قد ذكرها صاحب الأغاني ( ٣ ، ٧٩ ) نقلاً عن ابن عمرو الشيباني باختلاف يسير في الالفاظ . وفي روايته « تركت رفيق رحلك ، الخ . وهو الصواب .

٥ - ما بين القوسين سقط من م .

٦ - كذا في اللسان ( ٥ ، ٣٦٦ ) . وفي الصفحة ٢٤٧ من ذلك المجلد « تسين » .



عام ١٢٩٥ هـ. ثم وقفه على عصبته وفقاً مؤبداً. فمن بدله فأثمه عليه. ثم  
 كتب على حاشية النسخة: «نقلته من خط ياقوت؛ ولفظه: (كتبه ياقوت  
 المستعصمى فى سنة أربع وثمانين وستمائة)». وإن كان وفاة أبى الدر  
 ياقوت بن عبد الله الرومى المستعصمى فى سنة ٦٩٨ هـ (١٢٩٩ ع)،  
 فانتساب أصل «مصب» إليه غير بعيد.

وخط «ر» و«مصا» و«مب» الثلث الجلى والنسخ الخفى. وخط «مصب»  
 النسخ المغربى الجلى والخفى. وممداد «ر» أسود مائل إلى الحمرة. وكاغذه  
 سمرقندى أصفر. وهى مطلاة بالذهب والألوان. والحمد لله تعالى فى الأولى  
 والآخرة.

العبد  
 امتياز على عرشى  
 ناظم المكتبة

المكتبة الرامفورىة - رامفور  
 الهند - ٢٨ فبراير ١٩٣٩ ع

عليه الرحمة است. وهرسطرى يك تنكة طلا مى ارزد. كُتبه شيخ محمد التبريزى السلطاني عفى عنه..

وعلى الورقة ١ (ب) المجلدة فى أول الكتاب خط نصه: «صاحبه إسماعيل بن طهماسب الحسنى الموسوى الصفوى». ونقش خاتمه غير مقروء. وهو السلطان إسماعيل بن طهماسب بن إسماعيل بن سلطان حيدر الصفوى من السلاطين الصفوية بایران. قد ولى فى ١٥ صفر سنة ٩٨٤ هـ. ومات فى رمضان سنة ٩٨٥ هـ. وكان شاعراً يتخلص بالعدل<sup>١</sup>. وعلى الورقة ١٩ (الف) خط نصه: «فى ١٥ رجب سنة ٩٧٤ عرض ديدنه شد».

(ج) والنسخة الثالثة فى الترتيب التاريخى من حيث الكتابة هى «مب». قال كاتبها فى الخاتمة: «تم شعر الحادرة ولله الحمد والمنة. وصلوته على نبيه محمد وآله وسلم تسليماً. كُتبه على بن هلال حامداً لله على نعمه ومصلياً ومسلماً على نبيه محمد وآله. نقل هذا الكتاب داعياً لمولفه وكاتبه ومالكة بالمغفرة والرحمة والثواب وبلوغ الآراب<sup>٢</sup> العبد الفقير إلى الله الداعى على بن أحمد الداؤدى الرفا[عى] ..... بمدينة الفا[س] سنة ٩٧٣ من الهجرة النبوية عليه أفضل [الصلوة والتحية]». ويظهر منها أن هذه النسخة منقولة من «مصا» التى تقدم ذكرها. وكاتبه على بن أحمد الداؤدى.

(د) وآخر النسخ الخطية يبدى «مصب». قال الكاتب فى الخاتمة: «تم ديوان الحادرة بأسره. والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلوته على سيدنا محمد وآله الطاهرين وسلامه. كُتبه محمد محمود بن التلاميذ لطف الله تعالى به. ٢٠ رمضان

١ - تاريخ محمدى تحت سنة ٩٨٥ هـ.

٢ - جمع إربة، وهى الحاجة.

وهو أحد سلاطين عادلشاهية بيجافور (الدكن). ولى السلطنة في سنة ٩٨٨ هـ ومات سنة ١٠٣٦ هـ (١٥٧٩-١٦٢٦ ع). وكان أعلم بيته وأشد هم تربية للعلوم والصنایع. ونقش خاتمه (الورقات ٢ ب و ١٨ ب): «وَمَنْ يَرْغُبُ عَنْ مِثْلَةِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِلَّا مَنْ سَفِهَ نَفْسَهُ، وَلَقَدْ اضْطَفَيْنَاهُ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَإِنَّا فِي الْآخِرَةِ لَمِنَ الصَّالِحِينَ»<sup>١</sup>.

٢- «دخل في نوبة الفقير رستم بن مقصود بن حسن». ونقش الخاتم: «قد توكل بر خدای ذی المنن، سلطان رستم بن مقصود بن حسن. ٨٩٨ هـ». وهو سلطان رستم بيگ بن مقصود بيگ بن حسن بيگ بن علي بيگ بن قراعثمان بن قتلغ بيگ آق قوينلو التركان البابندري صاحب آذربيجان والعراقين وفارس ودياربكر. أسر في حرب جرى له مع ابن عمه أحمد بيگ ابن اغورلو محمد بن حسن بيگ في ذيقعدة سنة ٩٠٢ هـ فقتل بأمره وقد جاوز العشرين<sup>٢</sup>.

٣- «صاحبه يعقوب بن حسن بن يعقوب». ونقش خاتمه: «إِطْلَع عليه حامداً لعالم الغيوب، العبد يعقوب بن حسن بن يعقوب». ولعله هو السلطان أبو المظفر يعقوب بيگ بن الأمير حسن بيگ بن الأمير علي بيگ بن الأمير قراعثمان آق قوينلو التركان البابندري صاحب آذربيجان وفارس والعراقين ودياربكر. مات ١١ صفر سنة ٨٩٦ هـ (١٤٩٠ ع). وكان من خيار الملوك<sup>٣</sup>.

٤- «این کتاب خط حضرت قبله الكتاب ابو الدر ياقوت المستعصمي

١- تاريخ محمدی بالفارسية لميرزا محمد الحارثي البخشى تحت سنة ١٠٣٦ هـ وانسخة هذا الكتاب محفوظة في الخزانة الرامغورية. وهي بخط المؤلف.

٢- ايضاً تحت سنة ٩٠٢ هـ.

٣- ايضاً تحت سنة ٨٩٦ هـ.



قراءة حسنة مرضية. وكتب الأسعد بن نصر بن الأسعد العيزقي حامداً لله ومصلياً على عباده الذي اصطفى. وذلك في سنة خمس وسبعين وخمسمائة. وعلى الصفحة الأولى منها أيضاً خطوط متعددة. أحدها كتبت سنة ٧٥٣ من الهجرة.

والأسعد بن نصر بن الأسعد العيزقي هذا هو أبو منصور الأسعد النحوي. قال الصفدي: كانت له معرفة تامة بالنحو والأدب. أخذ النحو عن أبي الخشاب وأبي البركات الأنباري، واللغة عن أبي القصار. وتصدر بعده بجامع القصر للاقراء. ومات سنة تسع وثمانين وخمسمائة<sup>١</sup>.

(ب) ونسخة «ر» ثانيتهما في القدامة. قال الكاتب في خاتمتها: «تم شعر الحادرة بحمد الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه. مشقّه ياقوت المستعصمي في شوال سنة تسع وعشرين وستمائة. حامداً لله تعالى على نعمه ومصلياً على نبيه محمد وآله وسلم». وأيد هذا الانتساب ما كتبه الشيخ محمد التبريزي بالفارسية في آخر الورقة ٢ (الف). لكنه لم يصب في شهادته، لأن المستعصم بالله العباسي تلقب بهذا الاسم بعد ما ولي الخلافة في سنة ٦٤٠ هـ (١٢٤٢ع). وأظن بعد الامعان في خط الشيخ التبريزي وخط الكتاب نفسه أن الشيخ هو كاتب النسخة. وقد نسبة إلى المستعصمي لاجلال مرتبة الخط وجلب المال الخطير به من يد من أهدى إليه الكتاب من الأمراء أو السلاطين. لكن النسخة قد كتبت قبل سنة ٨٩٨ هـ (١٤٩٢ع) أو قريباً منها، لأن تلك السنة منقوشة في خاتم رستم بن مقصود بن حسن، أحد من توجد خطوطهم على الورقة ٢ (الف) من النسخة.

وهذه هي الخطوط والخواتيم المثبتة على الورقة ٢ (الف) منها:

١- «كتاب خاص همايون اشرف اقدس ارفع ابراهيم عادل شاه».

١- بغية الوعاة للسيوطي، ١٩٣. مطبعة السعادة بمصر، ١٣٢٦ هـ.

من سوء حفظنا قد بقي في العبارة من النقص ما يأباه الذوق ويخل في فهم المعنى أيضاً. ومع هذا كانت تلك الطبعة قد ندرت منذ أعوام. فلم يكدر يبلغ إليها أيدي الطالبين. فقصدت أن أرتب نسخة جيدة بعد المقابلة بالنسخ الخطية المحفوظة في خزانة الكتب الرامفورية وفي خزائن الكتب بمصر وانكثرت مثبتاً اختلاف النسخ في الحواشي، ومضيفاً إليها ما وجدت من أشعار الحادرة في الكتب الأدبية واللغوية كالآغاني واللسان وغيرهما، وملحقاً بها فهارس عديدة لسهولة المراجعة إلى مزايا الكتاب. فجاء، بحمد الله، على وفق مرادى وحسب مقصدي، ووجب على أن أشكر ناظر المكتبة الخديوية على إعادتي بإرسال العكوس الفوطوغرافية إلى مجاناً وأيضاً مهتم الموزة البريطانية بلندن الذي أجابني جواب الكريم الجواد.

وأردت في الحواشي بـ «ر» النسخة الرامفورية. وبـ «م» النسخة المطبوعة بتصحيح السيد انجلمان وبـ «مب» نسخة الموزة البريطانية وبـ «مصا» نسخة المكتبة الخديوية بمصر المكتوبة بيد علي بن هلال وبـ «مصب» نسختها الثانية المكتوبة بخط محمد محمود بن التلاميذ.

#### كيفية النسخ

(الف) نسخة «مصا» هي أقدم النسخ التي كانت عندي وقت التصحيح. قال كاتبها في الخاتمة: «تم شعر الحادرة، والله الحمد والمنة، وصلوته على نبيه محمد وآله. كتبه علي بن هلال حامداً لله على نعمه ومصلياً ومسلياً على نبيه محمد وآله». ويؤيده ما كتب أحد مالكي النسخة تحت العنوان، ونصه: «صاحب هذا الخط علي بن هلال من اضراب ياقوت». والصفحة الأخيرة منها تشتمل على خطوط أقدمها بيد الأسعد بن نصر. ونصه: «قرأ على شعر الحادرة بقره الشيخ [الأ] لمعى أبو الفتوح مسعود ابن أبي محمد الحسين بن أبي السعادات المقرئ المعروف بابن الخلاوي

## ديوان شعر الحادرة

واسمه قطبة بن أوس الذيباني

رواية أبي عبد الله محمد بن عباس اليزيدي المتوفى ٣١٠ هـ

بتصحيح امتياز على عرشي

بسم الرحمن الرحيم

### ﴿ مقدمة ﴾

من الشعراء الجاهليين الذين نبغوا في الشعر وأجادوه وحافظوا على رواية آبائهم في الشجاعة وحماية أقربائهم وحلفائهم بالألسنة والرماح، قطبة بن أوس بن محسن الذيباني الشهير بالحادرة.

كان شيطان شعره (على ما كان ظنهم في الجاهلية) أعلم أقرانه بقرض الشعر ونسجه وأفصحهم. وكان ما عنده من حسن التخيل وجزالة العبارة أوفر وأكثر مما احتاج إليه الحادرة في مدح آبائه وذم أعدائه. لكنه إما بخل فلم يعط الحادرة ما استحقه من الكثرة في الشعر، أو قصر رواة الشعر الجاهلي عن نقل أكثر ما ترك الشاعر واخفوا قصور روايتهم بقولهم «شاعر جاهلي مقل»<sup>١</sup>.

فجلاً ما روى لنا من أشعاره في الديوان يبلغ ٦٩ بيتاً. رواها أبو عبد الله محمد بن العباس اليزيدي (م سنة ٣١٠ هـ - ٩٣٢ ع) عن عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن قريب عن عمه أبي سعيد عبد الملك بن قريب الأصمعي (م سنة ٢١٣ هـ - ٩٢٥ ع).

وكان الأستاذ انجلمان الألماني (G. H. Engelmann) نشر الديوان مع ترجمته اللاتينية في سنة ١٨٥٨ ع واستحق شكرنا على سعيه الأدبي الجليل. لكن

١- الأغاني: ٣، ٧٩.



